

CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

SI YU-KI

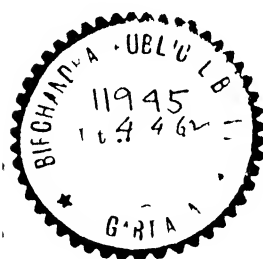
Buddhist Records
of
The Western World

CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang

by
SAMUEL BEAL

Volume Four



SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) PRIVATE LIMITED

35 CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA-12

1st Edition, 1881

New edition, 1958

PUBLISHED BY S. GUPTA FOR SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) PRIVATE LTD.,
35, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA 12, AND
PRINTED BY K. C. PAL AT THE NABAJIBAN PRESS,
66, GREY STREET, CALCUTTA 6.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This is the last volume of *Si-Yu-Ki—Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal, first published in a two-volume edition and subsequently in a popular edition—two volumes in one.

These four volumes give vivid accounts of ancient India as recorded by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the early centuries of our era. As the major part of the book is devoted to the travels of the illustrious pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang from A.D. 629-645, the original title of the book is changed to *Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*. Only a small introductory portion of the Volume One is devoted to the travels of Fa-Hian and Sung-Yun and the Buddhist Literature in China.

The entire work covers in all 138 countries of the Western World, which denotes generally the countries west of China.

As some of the footnotes have references to first and second volumes of the original work, the readers are requested to treat the first 258 pages as a reprint of the original Volume One and the rest as Volume Two.

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BOOK X

Contains an account of seventeen countries, viz. (1) I-lan-na-po-fa-to; (2) Chen-po; (3) Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo; (4) Pun-na-fa-tan-na; (5) Kia-mo-lu-po; (6) San-mo-ta-chi; (7) Tan-mo-li-ti; (8) Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na; (9) U-cha; (10) Kong-u-t'o; (11) Kie-ling-kia; (12) Kiao-sa-lo; (13) 'An-ta-lo; (14) To-na-kie-tse-kia; (15) Chu-li-ye; (16) Ta-lo-pi-ch'a; (17) Mo-lo-kiu-cha.

I-LAN-NA-PO-FA-TO (HIRANYA-PARVATA)¹

THIS country is about 3000 li in circuit. The capital of the country is 20 li or so round, and is bounded on the north by the river Ganges.² It is regularly cultivated, and is rich in its produce. Flowers and fruits also are abundant. The climate is agreeable in its temperature. The manners of the people are simple and honest. There are ten *sangharamas*, with about 4000 priests. Most of them study the Little Vehicle of the Samratya (Ching-liang-pu) school. There are some twelve Deva temples, occupied by various sectaries.

Lately the king of a border country deposed the ruler of this country, and holds in his power the capital. He is benevolent to the priests, and has built in the city two *sangharamas*, each holding something less than 1000 priests. Both of them are attached to the Sarvastivadin school of the Little Vehicle.

By the side of the capital and bordering on the Ganges river is the Hiranya (I-lan-na) mountain, from which is belched forth masses of smoke and vapour which obscure the light of the sun

¹ Hiranya-parvata, or the Golden Mountain is identified by General Cunningham with the hill of Mo-gir. This hill (and the kingdom to which it gave its name) was from early date of considerable importance, as it commanded the land route between the Hills and the river, as well as the water route by the Ganges. It is said to have been originally called Kashtaharana Parvata, as it overlooked the famous bathing-place on the Ganges called Kashtaharana Ghat, or 'the p in-excellent bathing-place,' because all people afflicted with either grief or bodily pain were at once cured by bathing there. Cunningham remarks that "this name of Hiranya Parvata is clearly the original of Hwen Tsang's *I-lan-na Po-fa-to*" (see the whole section, *Arch. Survey of India* vol. xv pp 16-17). The hill was also called Mudgalagiri. This may have originated the story of Mudgalaputra and the householder, *Srutavimsatikoti*.

² There seems to be a confusion in the text. Literally it is 'The capital (has) as a northern road or way the river Ganges.' There is a note in the original saying that the order is misprinted.

and moon. From old time till now Rishis and saints have come here in succession to repose their spirits. Now there is a Deva temple here, in which they still follow their rules handed down to them. In old days Tathagata also dwelt here, and for the sake of the Devas preached at large the excellent law.

To the south of the capital is a *stupa*. Here Tathagata preached for three months. By the side of it are traces of the three Buddhas of the past age, who sat and walked here.

To the west of this last-named spot, at no great distance, is a *stupa*. This denotes the spot where the Bhikshu Srutavimsatikoti¹ (Shi-lu-to-p'in-she-ti-ku-chi) was born. Formerly there was in this town a rich householder (*grihapati*), honoured and powerful. Late in life he had an heir born to his estate. Then he gave as a reward to the person who told him the news 200 lakhs of gold pieces. Hence the name given to his son was Sutravimsatikoti (Wen-urh-pih-yih). From the time of his birth till he grew up his feet never touched the ground. For this reason there grew on the bottom of his feet hairs a foot long, shining and soft, and of a yellow gold colour. He loved this child tenderly, and procured for him objects of the rarest beauty. From his house to the Snowy Mountains he had established a succession of rest-houses from which his servants continually went from one to the other. Whatever valuable medicines were wanted, they communicated the same to each other in order, and so procured them without loss of time, so rich was this family. The world-honoured one, knowing the root of piety in this man was about to develop, ordered Mudgalaputra to go there and to instruct him. Having arrived outside the gate, he had no way to introduce himself (*to pass through*). Now the householder's family (*or simply the householder*) worshipped Surya-deva. Every morning when the sun rose he turned towards it in adoration. At this time Mudgalaputra, by his spiritual power, caused himself to appear in the disc of the sun and to come down thence and stand in the interior. The householder's son took him to be Surya-deva, and so offered him perfume!

¹ This translated into Chinese is *Wen urh pih yih*, that is, "hearing-two-hundred lakhs." The note adds that formerly it was translated by *yih-urh*, that is, *laksha-karna*. The reference in the story is to Sona Kolivisi, who, according to the Southern account, lived at Champa (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvii. p. 1). He is said to have been worth eighty cart-loads of gold, *asiti-sakata-vahe hirannam* (*op. cit.*, p. 13). But in the following section of the *Mahavagga* (*op. cit.* 32) there is reference to another Sona called Kutikanna, which Buddhaghosha explains by saying that his ear-ornaments were worth a koti; but Rhys Davids thinks this may be explained by his having *pointed ear*: (p. 13, n. 3). It seems evident that the old form in Chinese, viz., *yih urh*, i.e., *lakshakarna*, refers to this Sona. The symbol *yih* is frequently used for koti, in which case the translation would be *koti karna*. Compare Cunningham's remarks about Raja Karna (*Arch. Surv.* vol. xv. p. 16). Compare also Julien, tome ii. *errata*, p. 573, col. 1, line 16.

food (*rice*) and worshipped him.⁴ The scent of the rice, so exquisite was it, reached even to Rajagriha. At this time Bimbisara-raja, astonished at the wonderful perfume, sent messengers to ask from door to door whence it came. At length he found that it came from the Venuvanavihara, where Mudgalaputra had just arrived from the abode of the (*rich*) householder. The king finding out that the son of the householder had such miraculous (*food*), sent for him to come to court. The householder, receiving the order, considered with himself what was the easiest mode of transport; a galley (*boat with banks of oars*) is liable to accidents from wind and waves; a chariot is liable to accident from the frightened elephants running away. On this he constructed from his own house to Rajagriha a canal basin, and filled it full of mustard seed.⁵ Then placing gently on it a lordly boat furnished with ropes with which to draw it along, he went thus to Rajagriha.

First going to pay his respects to the Lord of the World, he (*i.e.*, *Buddha*) addressed him and said, "Bimbisara-raja has sent for you, no doubt desiring to set the hair beneath your feet. When the king desires to see it, you must sit cross-legged with your feet turned up. If you stretch out your feet towards the king, the laws of the country exact death."⁶

The householder's son, having received the instruction of Buddha, went. He was then led into the palace and presented (*to the king*). The king desiring to see the hair, he sat cross-legged with his feet turned up. The king, approving of his politeness, formed a great liking for him. Having paid his final respects, he then returned to the place where Buddha was.

Tathagata at that time was preaching the law and teaching by parables. Hearing the discourse and being moved by it, his mind was opened, and he forthwith became a disciple. Then he applied himself with all his power to severe thought, with a view to obtain the fruit (*of Arhatship*). He walked incessantly up and down,⁷ until his feet were blood-stained.

The Lord of the World addressed him, saying, "You, dear youth, when living as a layman, did you know how to play the

⁴ The symbol *kivei*, "to return," is probably a mistake for *kwei*, "to worship." The translation I have given differs from the French.

⁵ In the *Mahavagga* it is simply said, "and they carried Soṇa Kolivisa in a palanquin to Rajagriha" (*S.B.E.*, xvii. 2).

This advice is given him by his parents in the Southern account. On the other hand, the visit of the eighty thousand others to Buddha and the miracles of Sagata resulting in their conversion, are quite omitted here.

⁷ "Walking up and down, thinking, is represented as a constant habit of the early Buddhist Sramanas" (*S.B.E.*, xvii. 17, n. 3). It is constantly referred to in Hiuen Tsiang, and the spots where the Buddhas had walked up and down appear to have been accounted sacred.

lute? " * He said, "I knew." "Well, then," said Buddha, "I will draw a comparison derived from this. The cords being too tight then the sounds were not in cadence; when they were too loose, then the sounds had neither harmony nor charm; but when not tight and not slack, then the sounds were harmonious. So in the preparation for a religious life, the case is the same; too severe, then the body is wearied and the mind listless; too remiss, then the feelings are pampered and the will weakened." *

Having received this instruction from Buddha, he moved round him in a respectful way,¹⁰ and by these means he shortly obtained the fruit of Arhatship.

On the western frontier of the country, to the south of the river Ganges, we come to a small solitary mountain, with a double peak rising high.¹¹ Formerly Buddha in this place rested during the three months of rain, and subdued the Yaksha Vakula (Yo-c'ha Po-khu-lo).¹²

Below a corner of the south-east side of the mountain is a great stone. On this are marks caused by Buddha sitting thereon. The marks are about an inch deep, five feet two inches long, and two feet one inch wide. Above them is built a *stupa*.

Again to the south is the impression on a stone where Buddha set down his *kuñ-chi-kia* (*kundika* or water-vessel). In depth the lines are about an inch, and are like a flower with eight buds (or petals).¹³

Not far to the south-east of this spot are the foot-traces of the Yaksha Vakula. They are about one foot five or six inches long, seven or eight wide, and in depth less than two inches. Behind these traces of the Yaksha is a stone figure of Buddha in sitting posture, about six or seven feet high.

Next, to the west, not far off, is a place where Buddha walked for exercise.

Above this mountain top is the old residence of the Yaksha.

Next, to the north is a foot-trace of Buddha, a foot and eight inches long, and perhaps six inches wide and half an inch

* The *vina*, as in the Pali.

⁹ This comparison is found in the *Sutra of Forty-two Sections*, No. xxxiii.

¹⁰ That is, keeping his right shoulder toward him (*pradakshina*).

¹¹ This mountain is identified by Cunningham with the hill of Mahadeva, which is situated east from the great regular central mass of the Mongir hills (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. xv. p. 19). Huen Tsiang does not apply himself to have visited this spot, as the symbol used is *chi*, not *ling*. The passage might be translated, 'there is a small solitary hill with successive crags heaped up.' For an account of the neighbouring hot springs see Cunningham (*op. cit.* Appendix).

¹² Vakula or Vakkula was also the name of a Sthavira, one of Buddha's disciples. Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 349; *Lotus*, pp. 2, 126.

¹³ Many of these marks or figures might probably be explained by a knowledge of the character of the rock formation. Buchanan describes the rock of Mahadeva as quartz or silicious hornstone.

deep. Above it is a *stupa* erected. Formerly when Buddha subdued the Yaksha, he commanded him not to kill men nor eat their flesh. Having respectfully received the law of Buddha, he was born in heaven.

To the west of this are six or seven hot springs. The water is exceedingly hot¹⁴

To the south the country is bounded by great mountain forests in which are many wild elephants of great size.

Leaving this kingdom, going down the river Ganges, on its south bank eastwards, after 300 li or so, we come to the country Chen-po (Champa).

CHEN-PO (CHAMPA)¹⁵

This country (Champa) is about 4000 li in circuit. The capital is backed to the north by the river Ganges, it is about 40 li round. The soil is level and fertile (*fat* or *loamy*); it is regularly cultivated and productive; the temperature is mild and warm (*moderately hot*); the manners of the people simple and honest. There are several tens of *sangharamas*, mostly in ruins, with about 200 priests. They follow the teaching of the Little Vehicle. There are some twenty Deva temples, which sectaries of every kind frequent. The walls of the capital are built of brick, and are several "tens of feet" high. The foundations of the wall are raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they can defy (*stop*) the attack of enemies. In old times at the beginning of the kalpa, when things (*men and things*) first began, they (*i.e., people*) inhabited dens and caves of the desert. There was no knowledge of dwelling-houses. After this, a Devi (*divine woman*) descending in consequence of her previous conduct, was located amongst them. As she sported in the streams of the Ganges, she was affected by a spiritual power, and conceiving, she brought forth four sons, who divided between them the government of Jambudvīpa. Each took possession of a district, founded a capital, built towns, and marked out the limits of the frontiers. This was the capital of the country of one of them, and the first of all the cities of Jambudvīpa.

To the east of the city 140 or 150 li, on the south of the river

¹⁴ These springs as described by a recent visitor in the *Pioneer*, 17th August 1882 (see Cunningham, *op. cit.* Appendix): "they are still so hot as to fill the valley with clouds of steam 'like a cauldron'."

¹⁵ Champa and Champāpuri in the *Puranas* is the name of the capital of Anga or the country about Bhag'pur (Wilson's *Vishnupur*, vol. ii, p. 166; vol. iv, p. 125; *J.R.A.S.* vol. v p. 134; *Harivam.*, 1699; *Mahabh.*, iii, 8141, &c.) See Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i pp. 175, 176; Champānagar and Karmāgarh are close to Bhag'pur. M. Martin, *East India*, vol. ii pp. 39 f. (Hüner's *Statistical Atlas of Bengal* vol. v, p. 82, only copies the preceding). Fa-hian, chap. xxxvii; Burnouf, *Introd.* (2nd ed.), p. 132.

Ganges, is a solitary detached rock,¹⁶ craggy and steep, and surrounded by water. On the top of the peak is a Deva temple; the divine spirits exhibit many miracles (*spiritual indications*) here. By piercing the rock, houses have been made; by leading the streams (*through each*), there is a continual flow of water. There are wonderful trees (*forming*) flowering woods; the large rocks and dangerous precipices are the resort of men of wisdom and virtue; those who go there to see the place are reluctant to return.

In the midst of the desert wilds, that form the southern boundary of the country, are wild elephants and savage beasts that roam in herds.

From this country going eastwards 400 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo (Kajughira).

KIE-CHU-HOH-KHI-LO (KAJUGHIRA OR KAJINGHARA)

This kingdom¹⁷ is about 2000 li or so in circuit. The soil is level and loamy; it is regularly cultivated, and produces abundant crops; the temperature is warm; the people are simple in their habits. They greatly esteem men of high talent, and honour learning and the arts. There are six or seven *sangharamas* with about 300 priests; and there are some ten Deva temples frequented by sectaries of all sorts. During the last few centuries the royal line has died out, and the country has been ruled by a neighbouring state, so that the towns are desolate, and most of the people are found scattered in villages and hamlets. On this account, Siladitya-raja, when roaming through Eastern India, built a palace in this place, in which he arranged the affairs of his different states. It was built of branches and boughs for a temporary residence, and burnt on his departure. On the southern frontiers of the country are many wild elephants.

On the northern frontiers, not far from the Ganges river, is a high and large tower made of bricks and stone. Its foundation, wide and lofty, is ornamented with rare sculptures. On the four faces of the tower are sculptured figures of the saints, Devas, and Buddhas in separate compartments.

¹⁶ Either an islet or a detached rock. Cunningham identifies it with the picturesque rocky island opposite Patharghata with its temple-crowned summit (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 477). The same writer (*Arch. Surv.*, vol. xv, p. 34) states, "Both bearing and distance point to the rocky hill of Kahalgau (Kolgong of the maps), which is just 23 miles to the east of Bhagalpur (Champa)."

¹⁷ In a note we are told that the common pronunciation of this country is "*Kie-ching-kie-lo*." M. V. de St. Martin (*Memoire*, p. 387) notices that in the *Mahabharata* there is a country Kajingha named among the people of Eastern India; also in the Sinhalese Chronicles a town called Kajanehele-Niyangame, in the eastern region of Jambudvipa. There is also a village called Kajeri marked in Rennell's map, just 92 miles (460 li) from Champa.

Going from this country eastward, and crossing the Ganges, after about 600 li we come to the kingdom of Pun-na-fa-tan-na (Pundravarddhana).

PUN-NA-FA-TAN-NA (PUNDRAVARDDHANA)¹⁸

This country is about 4000 li in circuit. Its capital is about 30 li round. It is thickly populated. The tanks and public offices and flowering woods are regularly connected at intervals.¹⁹ The soil is flat and loamy, and rich in all kinds of grain-produce. The *Panasa*²⁰ (*Pan-na-so*) fruit, though plentiful, is highly esteemed. The fruit is as large as a pumpkin.²¹ When it is ripe it is of a yellowish-red colour. When divided, it has in the middle many tens of little fruits of the size of a pigeon's egg; breaking these, there comes forth a juice of a yellowish-red colour and of delicious flavour. The fruit sometimes collects on the tree-branches as other clustering fruits, but sometimes at the tree-roots, as in the case of the earth-growing *fu ling*.²² The climate (*of this country*) is temperate, the people esteem learning. There are about twenty *sangharamas*, with some 3000 priests; they study both the Little and Great Vehicle. There are some hundred Deva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous.

To the west of the capital 30 li or so is the Po-chi-p'o *sangharanta*.²³ Its courts are light and roomy; its towers and

¹⁸ H. H. Wilson includes in the ancient Pundra the districts of Rajashahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Nadiya, Birbhum, Bardwan, Midnapur, Jangal Mahals, Ramgadh, Pachit, Palaman, and part of Chunar. It is the country of "sugar-cane," *pundra*, Ban li *puri-akh*. The Pundra people are frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and Pundravarddhana was evidently a portion of their country. *Quart. Orient. Mag.*, vol. ii. p. 188; *Vishnu-pur.*, vol. ii. pp. 134, 170. Westmacott proposed to identify Pundra-varddhana with the adjacent parganas or districts of Panjara and Borddhonkuti (or Khettal) in Dinajpur, about 35 miles N.N.W. from Rangpur; but also suggested, as an alternative, Pondua or Ponrowa, afterwards Firzupur or Firuzabad, 6 miles north-east of Malda, and 18 N.N.E. from Gauda. Fergusson assigned it a place near Rangpur. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii. p. 62; Hunter, *Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. viii. pp. 59 f., 449; *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. vi. pp. 238 f.; conf. *Raja-Tarangini*, tom. iv. p. 421; Mahabh., ii. 1872. General Cunningham has more recently fixed on Mahasthanagadha on the Karatoya, 12 miles south of Bardhankuti and 7 miles north of Bagraha, as the site of the capital (*Report*, vol. xv. pp. v., 104, 110 f.).

¹⁹ This passage may also be translated thus: "Maritime offices (offices connected with the river navigation?) with their (surrounding) flowers and groves occur at regular intervals."

²⁰ Jack or bread fruit

²¹ "A large and coarse squash." Williams' *Tonic Dict.*, sub *Kwa*.²¹

²² The *radix Chma*, according to Julien; the *pachyma cocos*, according to Doolittle's *Vocabulary*, vol. ii. 423. Medhurst (sub *voc. ling*) names "the China root" which grows under old fir trees.

²³ Julien restores this (with a query) to Vasibbasangharama, "the convent which has the brightness of fire."

pavilions are very lofty. The priests are about 700 in number; they study the law according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned priests from Eastern India dwell here.

Not far from this is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. Here Tathagata, in old days, preached the law for three months for the sake of the Devas. Occasionally, on fast days, there is a bright light visible around it.

By the side of this, again, is a place where the four past Buddhas walked for exercise and sat down. The bequeathed traces are still visible.

Not far from this there is a *vihara* in which is a statue of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhisattva. Nothing is hid from its divine discernment; its spiritual perception is most accurate; men far and near consult (*this being*) with fasting and prayers.

From this going east 900 li or so, crossing the great river, we come to the country of Kia-mo-lu-po (Kamarupa).

KIA-MO-LU-PO (KAMARUPA)

The country of Kamarupa²⁴ is about 10,000 li in circuit. The capital town is about 30 li. The land lies low, but is rich, and is regularly cultivated. They cultivate the *Panasa* fruit and the *Na-lo-ki-lo* (Narikela)²⁵ fruit. These trees, though numerous, are nevertheless much valued and esteemed. Water led from the river or from banked-up lakes (*reservoirs*) flows round the towns. The climate is soft and temperate. The manners of the people simple and honest. The men are of small stature, and their complexion a dark yellow. Their language differs a little from that of Mid-India. Their nature is very impetuous and wild; their memories are retentive, and they are earnest in study. They adore and sacrifice to the Devas, and have no faith in Buddha; hence from the time when Buddha appeared in the world even down to the present time there never as yet has been built one *sangharama* as a place for the priests to assemble. Such disciples as there are of a pure faith, say their prayers (*repeat the name of Buddha*) secretly, and that is all. There are as many as 100 Deva temples, and different sectaries to the number of several myriads. The present king belongs to the old line (*tso yan*) of Narayana-deva. He is of the Brahman caste. His name is Bhaskaravarman,²⁶ his title Kumara (Kue-

²⁴ Kamarupa (its capital is called in the *Puranas*, Prag'yotishā) extended from the Karatoya river in Rangpur to the eastward (*Sat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. vii, pp. 168, 210; or M. Martin *East Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 403). The kingdom included Manipur, Niyntiya, Kachhar, West Assam, and parts of Maymansingh, and Sylhet (Srihatta). The modern district extends from Goalpara to Gauhati. Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i, p. 87; vol. ii, p. 97; Wilson, *V. P.*, vol. v, p. 88; *As. Res.*, vol. iv, p. 422; *Lalita Vis.*, p. 416.

²⁵ The bread-fruit and the coconut.

²⁶ Pu-se-kie 普世客 in Chinese, Yih-cheu, "helmet of the sun." See Hall's *Vagavadatta*, p. 52.

mo-lo). From the time that this family seized the land and assumed the government till the present king, there have elapsed a thousand successions (*generations*). The king is fond of learning, and the people are so likewise in imitation of him. Men of high talent from distant regions aspiring after office(?) visit his dominions as strangers. Though he has no faith in Buddha, yet he much respects Sramanas of learning. When he first heard that a Sramana from China²⁷ had come to Magadha to the Nalanda *sangharama* from such a distance, to study with diligence the profound law of Buddha, he sent a message of invitation by those who reported it as often as three times, but yet the Sramana (*i.e.*, Hiuen Tsiang) had not obeyed it. Then Silabhadra (Shi-lo-po-t'o-lo), master of *sastras*, said, "You desire to show your gratitude to Buddha; then you should propagate the true law; this is your duty. You need not fear the long journey. Kumara-raja's family respect the teaching of the heretics, and now he invites a Sramana to visit him. This is good indeed! We judge from this that he is changing his principles, and desires to acquire merit (*or*, from merit acquired) to benefit others. You formerly conceived a great heart, and made a vow with yourself to travel alone through different lands regardless of life, to seek for the law for the good of the world."²⁸ Forgetful of your own country, you should be ready to meet death; indifferent to renown or failure, you should labour to open the door for the spread of the holy doctrine, to lead onwards the crowds who are deceived by false teaching, to consider others first, yourself afterwards; forgetful of renown, to think only of religion (*enlarge the law*)."

On this, with no further excuses, he hastened in company with the messengers to present himself to the king. Kumara-raja said "Although I am without talents myself, I have always been fond of men of conspicuous learning. Hearing, then, of your fame and distinction, I ventured to ask you here to visit me."

He replied, "I have only moderate wisdom, and I am confused to think that you should have heard of my poor reputation."

Kumar-raja said, "Well, indeed! from regard for the law and love of learning to regard oneself as of no account, and to travel abroad regardless of so great dangers, to wander through strange countries! This is the result of the transforming power of the king's government, and the exceeding learning, as is reported, of the country. Now, through the kingdoms of India there are many persons who sing about the victories of

²⁷ The French translation is very confused. Julien appears to have overlooked the symbols *Chi-n-kwo* (the country of China).

²⁸ To save all creatures (Jul.).

the Tsin king of the Mahachina country. I have long heard of this. And is it true that this is your honourable birthplace ? ”

He said, “ It is so. These songs celebrate the virtues of my overrign.”

He replied, “ I could not think that your worthy self was of this country. I have ever had an esteem for its manners and laws. Long have I looked towards the east, but the intervening mountains and rivers have prevented me from personally visiting it.”

In answer I said, “ My great sovereign’s holy qualities are far renowned, and the transforming power of his virtue reaches to remote districts. People from strange countries pay respect at the door of his palace, and call themselves his servants.”

Kumara-raja said, “ If his dominion is so great (*covering thus his subjects*), my heart strongly desires to bear my tribute to his court. But now Siladity-raja is in the country of Kajughira (Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo), about to distribute large alms and to plant deeply the root of merit and wisdom. The Sramans and Brahmans of the five Indies, renowned for their learning, must needs come together. He has now sent for me. I pray you go with me ! ”

On this they went together.

On the east this country is bounded by a line of hills, so that there is no great city (*capital*) to the kingdom. Their frontiers, therefore, are contiguous to the barbarians of the south-west (*of China*). These tribes are, in fact, akin to those of the Man²⁹ people in their customs. On inquiry I ascertained that after a two months’ journey we reach the south-western frontiers of the province of Sz’chuen (*Shuh*). But the mountains and rivers present obstacles, and the pestilential air, the poisonous vapours, the fatal snakes, the destructive vegetation, all these causes of death prevail.

On the south-east of this country herds of wild elephants roam about in numbers ; therefore, in this district they use them principally in war.

Going from this 1200 or 1300 li to the south, we come to the country of San-mo-ta-cha (Samatata).

SAN-MO-TA-CHA (SAMATATA)

This country³⁰ is about 3000 li in circuit and borders on the great sea. The land lies low and is rich. The capital is about 20 li round. It is regularly cultivated, and is rich in crops, and the flowers and fruits grow everywhere. The climate is soft

²⁹ The ‘Man people’ (*man lo*) are the south-west barbarians (so named by the Chinese).

³⁰ Eastern Bengal : Samotata or Samatata means “the shore country” or “level country” (Lassen *Ind. Alt.* iii. 681). It is named by Vāṣṭha Mihira (*Br. Samh.* xiv. 6) along with Mithila and Orissa.

and the habits of the people agreeable. The men are hardy by nature, small of stature, and of black complexion; they are fond of learning, and exercise themselves diligently in the acquirement of it. There are professors (*believers*) both of false and true doctrines. There are thirty or so *sangharamas* with about 2000 priests. They are all of the Sthavira (Shang-tso-pu) school. There are some hundred Deva temples, in which sectaries of all kinds live. The naked ascetics called Nirgranthas (Ni-kien) are most numerous.

Not far out of the city is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. In this place Tathagata in former days preached the deep and mysterious law for seven days for the good of the Devas. By the side of it are traces where the four Buddhas sat and walked for exercise.

Not far from this, in a *sangharama*, is a figure of Buddha of green jade. It is eight feet high, with the marks on its person perfectly shown, and with a spiritual power which is exercised from time to time.

Going north-east from this to the borders of the ocean, we come to the kingdom of Srikshetra (Shi-li-ch'a-ta-lo).³¹

Farther on to the south-east, on the borders of the ocean, we come to the country of Kamalanka (Kia-mo-lang-kia),³² still to the east is the kingdom of Dvarapati (To-lo-po-ti);³³ still to the east is the country of Isanapura (I-shang-na-pu-lo); still to the east is the country of Mahachampa (Ho-ho-chen-po), which is the same as Lin-i. Next to the south-west is the country called Yamanadvipa³⁴ (Yavanandvipa—Yen-nio-na-cheu). These six countries are so hemmed in by mountains and rivers that they are inaccessible;³⁵ but their limits and the character of the people and country could be learned by inquiry.

From Samatata going west 900 li or so, we reach the country of Tan-mo-li-ti (Tamralipti).

TAN-MO LI-TI (TAMRALIPTI)¹⁶

This country is 1400 or 1500 li in circuit, the capital about 10 li. It borders on the sea. The ground is low and rich; it is

³¹ Srikshetra or Tharekhetara is the name of an ancient Burmese kingdom, whose capital city of the same name near Prome, on the Irawadi; but this is south-east, whilst north-east towards Sittatta or Sylhet, does not lead to "the borders of the ocean".

³² Kamalanka: Pegu (Hansawadi) and the delta of the Irawadi, called Ramanya, and earlier Aramna.

³³ Dwaravati is the classic name for the town and district of Sandowe, but in Burmese history it is also applied to Siam (Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 32).

³⁴ Yamadvipa is an island mentioned in the *Vayu-purana*, but probably fabulous.

³⁵ I.e., the pilgrim did not enter them.

³⁶ *Tamalites* in Ptol., lib. vii. c. 1.73. Tamalittu or Timmalipt the modern Tamluk, on the Selai, just above its junction with the Hughli.

regularly cultivated, and produces flowers and fruits in abundance. The temperature is hot. The manners of the people are quick and hasty. The men are hardy and brave. There are both heretics and believers. There are about ten *sangharamas*, with about 1000 priests. The Deva temples are fifty in number, in which various sectaries dwell mixed together. The coast of this country is formed by (or in) a recess of the sea; the water and the land embracing each other.³⁷ Wonderful articles of value and gems are collected here in abundance, and therefore the people of the country are in general very rich.

By the side of the city is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*; by the side of it are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked.

Going from this north-west 700 li or so, we come to the country Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (Karnasuvarna).

KIE-LO-NA-SU-FA-LA-NA (KARNASUVARNA)³⁸

This kingdom is about 1400 or 1500 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. It is thickly populated. The householders are very (*rich and in ease*). The land lies low and is loamy. It is regularly cultivated, and produces an abundance of flowers, with valuables numerous and various. The climate is agreeable; the manners of the people honest and amiable. They love learning exceedingly, and apply themselves to it with earnestness. There are believers and heretics, alike amongst them. There are ten sangharamas or so, with about 2000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle of the Samma'ya (*Ching-tiang-pu*) school. There are fifty Deva temples. The heretics are very numerous. Besides these there are three *sangharamas* in which they do not use thickened milk (*u lok*), following the directions of Devadatta (Ti-p'o-ta-to).³⁹

By the side of the capital is the *sangharama* called Lo-to-wei-chi (Raktaviti),⁴⁰ the halls of which are light and spacious, the storeyed towers very lofty. In this establishment congregate all the most distinguished, learned, and celebrated men of the

Jour. R.A.S. vol. v. p. 135; Wilson, *Vishnu-pur.* vol. ii. p. 177; Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i. p. 177; Varahamih., *Br. S.*, x. 14; Turnour, *Mahayanso.* pp. 70, 115.

³⁷ *I.e.*, the coast of the country is that of a large bay.

³⁸ Karna was the king of Anga, whose capital is placed at Karna-garh near Bhagalpur (M. Martin, *E. Ind.*, vol. ii. pp. 31, 38 f., 46, 50).

³⁹ Devadatta appears to have had a body of disciples; in consequence of his inferiority in point of influence to Buddha, he became his enemy. One of the rules of his sect was not to use butter. A sect revering him as a Buddha existed up to A.D. 430 (Eitel, *s. v.*). For an account of his more rigorous ascetic praxis, see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 160, 161.

⁴⁰ Meaning "red mud." I adopt the Sanskrit restoration from Juilien.

kingdom. They strive to promote each other's advancement by exhortations, and to perfect their character.⁴¹ At first the people of this country did not believe in Buddha; at this time⁴² there was a heretic of Southern India who wore over his belly copper-plates and on his head a lighted torch. With lofty steps, staff in hand, he came to this country. Sounding aloud the drum of discussion, he sought an adversary in controversy. Then a man said to him, "Why are your head and your body so strangely (*arrayed*)?" He said, "My wisdom is so great, I fear my belly will burst, and because I am moved with pity for the Ignorant multitude who live in darkness, therefore I carry this light on my head."

After ten days, no one was found to question him. Among all the learned and professed scholars there was not a single person to discuss with him. The king said, "Alas! what ignorance⁴³ prevails in my territories, that no one should be able to challenge the difficult propositions⁴⁴ of this stranger. What a disgrace to the country! We must scheme and seek through the most obscure retreats."

Then one said to him, "In the forest there is a strange man who names himself a Sramana, he is most diligent in study. He is now living apart in silence and obscurity, and so he has lived for a long time; who so well able by his united virtue to controvert this irreligious man as he?"⁴⁵

The king hearing this, went himself to invite him to come. The Sramana replying, said, "I am a man of South India; I stop here on my travels merely as a stranger. My abilities are small and commonplace; I fear lest you should not know it, but yet I will come according to your wish, though I am by no means certain as to the character of the discussion. If however, I am not defeated, I will ask you to erect a *sangharama*, and summon the fraternity to glorify and extol the law of

⁴¹ Literally, "to promote their mutual perfection by shaping and smoothing (*in the sense of polishing*) their reason and virtue."

⁴² Julien refers this expression to the time when Hiuen Tsiang was there (p. 85, n. 3); in this case, it is possible that the allusion in vol. i, p. 76, n. 22, is to this encounter. But as the *sangharama* was already built when Hiuen Tsiang visited the capital, it is difficult to understand how the event occurred at that time.

⁴³ *Wou ming*—darkness.

⁴⁴ It may also mean "the difficulty" resulting from the stranger's challenge.

⁴⁵ Julien translates this passage thus: "Could he conduct himself thus if he was not attached to the law and devoted to virtue?" The passage is difficult; literally it runs thus: "With his no-master, who is able so well as this (Sramana) to embody the law, to unite virtue?" To embody the law" means "to represent or, vindicate, religion"; and to unite virtue" means "so virtuously or fully."

Buddha." The king said, "I accept your terms, nor could I dare to forget your virtue."⁴⁶

Then the Sramana, having accepted the king's invitation, proceeded to the arena of controversy. Then the heretic went through (*chanted*) some 30,000 words of his school. His arguments were profound, his illustrations (*figures* or *writing*) ample; his whole discourse, both as to names and qualities, was captivating to sight and hearing.

The Sramana, after listening, at once fathomed his meaning; no word or argument deceived him. With a few hundred words he discriminated and explained every difficulty, and then he asked (*the heretic*) as to the teaching (*the principles*) of his school. The words of the heretic were confused and his arguments devoid of force, and so his lips were closed and he could not reply. Thus he lost his reputation, and, covered with confusion, retired.

The king, deeply reverencing the priest, founded this convent; and from that time and afterwards the teaching of the law widely extended (*through the kingdom*).⁴⁷

By the side of the *sangharama*, and not far off, is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. When Tathagata was alive in the world he preached here for seven days, explaining (*the law*) and guiding (*men*). By the side of it is a *vihara*; here there are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked. There are several other *stupas* in places where Buddha explained the excellent law.⁴⁸ These were built by Asoka-*raja*.

Going from this 700 li or so in a south-westerly direction, we come to the country of U-cha.

U-CHA (UDRA)

This country⁴⁹ is 7000 li or so in circuit; the capital city⁵⁰ is about 20 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and it produces abundance of grain, and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here. The climate is

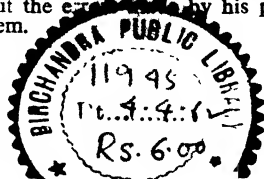
⁴⁶ The symbol *tih* (virtue) sometimes stands for *bhadanta*, i.e., "you-reverence" or "your excellency." It may also refer to the Priesthood generally. It is applied in inscriptions to Sthaviras or priests.

⁴⁷ *Qr.* he widely extended the teaching of the law.

⁴⁸ The original has *king fa*, the law of the *sutras*; perhaps *king* is a mistake for *niu*, "excellent."

⁴⁹ Udra or Odra is Orissa (*Mahabh.*, ii. 1174, iii. 1988); also called Utkala (*Mahabh.*, vii. 122; Vishnupur., vol. ii. p. 160).

⁵⁰ This capital is generally identified with Lajpura on the Baitani. Fergusson suggests Midnapur (*J.R.A.S., N.S.*, vol. vi. p. 249); his remarks (in this paper) on the whole of this part of the pilgrim's route are of great interest. He first noticed that the journey of Hsien Tsiang to Kamarupa was made from Nalanda on his return to that monastery from South India; he also points out the error made by his predecessors in the same inquiry and corrects them.



hot; the people are uncivilised, tall of stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language (*pronunciation*) differ from Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred *sangharamas*, with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are fifty Deva temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The *stupas*, to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Asoka-*raja*.

In a great mountain on the south-west frontiers⁵¹ of the country is a *sangharama* called Pushpagiri (Pu-se-po-k'i-li); the stone *stupa* belonging to it exhibits very many spiritual wonders (*miracles*). On fast-days it emits a bright light. For this cause believers from far and near flock together here and present as offerings beautifully embroidered (*flower*) canopies (*umbrellas*): they place these underneath the vase⁵² at the top of the cupola,⁵³ and let them stand there fixed as needles in the stone. To the north-west of this, in a convent on the mountain, is a *stupa* where the same wonders occur as in the former case. These two *stupas* were built by the demons,⁵⁴ and hence are derived the extraordinary miracles.

On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, is the town Charitra (Che-li-ta-lo),⁵⁵ about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles.

⁵¹ Remains, probably of a *stupa*, have been found near Askaniya (J.R.A.S., vol. xx, p. 105).

⁵² Literally, "underneath the dew-vessel or vase." Here we have another instance of the custom of crowning the *stupa* with a dewvase, or "vessel of immortality" (*amara k-rka*). The custom would appear to have originated in the idea that "sweet dew" thus collected in a vessel had miraculous qualities as "the water of life." Dr. Burgess remarks that these flags were probably fixed "on the capital of the *stupa*, on which was placed the relic-casket (when not enshrined inside the capital over the *garbha* of the *stupa*)."

⁵³ It is satisfactory to find that Julien in this passage translates the "inverted vase or alms-dish" by *cupola*. It should have been so rendered throughout.

⁵⁴ The expression *shin kwei* does not mean demons in a bad sense, but spiritual or divine beings. It might also be rendered "spirits and demons." Cunningham supposes the two hills named in the text to be Udayagiri and Khandagiri, in which many Buddhist caves covered. These hills are 20 miles to the south of Katak and 5 miles to the west of the grand group of temples at Bhuvanewara (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 512).

⁵⁵ In Chinese, *Fa-hing*, "city of departure." This is exactly Ptolemy's *to aphetion ton eis ten khruen empleonton* (lib. vii. c. 1, 15). Comp Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i. p. 205, and vol. iii. p. 202. It is plain (from Hiuen Tsiang's remark, that the precious stone could be seen at a distance of 20,000 li) that he is confusing this Charitrapura with the one farther south, two days' sail from Ceylon.

Outside the city there are five convents⁵⁶ one after the other ; their storeyed towers are very high, and carved with figures of saints exquisitely done.

Going south 20,000 li or so is the country of Simhala (Sengkia-lo). In the still night, looking far off, we see the surmounting precious stone of the tooth-stupa of Buddha brilliantly shining and scintillating as a bright torch burning in the air.

From this going south-west about 1,200 li through great forests, we come to the kingdom of Kong-u-t'o (Konyodha).

KONG-U-T'O (KONYODHA ?)

This kingdom⁵⁷ is about 1000 li in circuit ; the capital is 20 li round. It borders on a bay (*angle of the sea*). The ranges of mountains are high and precipitous. The ground is low and moist. It is regularly cultivated and productive. The temperature is hot, the disposition of the people brave and impulsive. The men are tall of stature and black complexioned and dirty. They have some degree of politeness and are tolerably honest. With respect to their written characters, they are the same as those of Mid-India, but their language and mode of pronunciation are quite different. They greatly respect the teaching of heretics and do not believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred Deva temples, and there are perhaps 10,000 unbelievers of different sects.

Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea.⁵⁸ The cities themselves are strong and high ; the soldiers are brave and daring ; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them. This country, bordering on the sea, abounds in many rare and valuable articles. They use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial

⁵⁶ M. Julien renders it "five stupas" by mistake.

⁵⁷ See *J.R.A.S., N.S.*, vol. vi. p. 250. Cunningham supposes this place to be Ganjam. The origin of the name Ganjam is not known. When Hiuen Tsiang returned to Maradhva he found that Harshavardhana had just returned from a successful expedition against the king of Ganjam. Cunningham thinks that Ganjam was then annexed to the province of Orissa (Robert Sewell, *Lists*, vol. i. p. 2). Fergusson remarks that "Khordhar in the neighbourhood of Bhuvaneswar is just 170 miles south-west from Midnapur, and it is impossible to mistake the Chilka Lake as the great bay and the two seas of the text. Perhaps Hiuen Tsiang stopped here to visit the caves in the Khindagiri and Udayagiri hills" (*J.R.A.S.*, loc. cit.).

⁵⁸ The phrase *hai kiau* does not necessarily imply "the confluence of two seas." It seems to mean that the towns were built near the mountains (the Mahendra Male ?), but in communication with the sea-coast. So along the west coast of South America the towns built at the foot of the hills are in communication with the sea by ports of embarkation (*embarcadors*).

transactions. The great greenish-blue⁵⁹ elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyances and make very long journeys.

From this going south-west, we enter a vast desert, jungle, and forests, the trees of which mount to heaven and hide the sun. Going 1,400 or 1,500 li, we come to the country of Kie-ling-kia (Kalinga).

KIE-LING-KIA (KALINGA)

This country⁶⁰ is 5000 li or so in circuit; its capital is 20 li or so round. It is regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are very abundant. The forests and jungle are continuous for many hundred li. It produces the great tawny⁶¹ wild elephant, which are much prized by neighbouring provinces. The climate is burning; the disposition of the people vehement and impetuous. Though the men are mostly rough and uncivilised, they still keep their word and are trustworthy. The language is light and tripping,⁶² and their pronunciation distinct and correct. But in both particulars, that is, as to words and sounds, they are very different from Mid-India. There are a few who believe in the true law, but most of them are attached to heresy. There are ten *sangharamas*, with about 500 priests, who study the Great Vehicle according to the teaching of the Sthavira school. There are some 100 Deva temples with very many unbelievers of different sorts, the most numerous being the Nirgranthas⁶³ [Ni-kin followers].

In old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population. Their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels grided together, and when they raised their arm-sleeves a perfect tent was formed.⁶⁴ There was

⁵⁹ It may mean simply "dark coloured"; but *ts'ing* generally means "the colour of nature, as the azure of the sky or the green of growing plants" (Wells Williams). The phrase for *black* is *un ts'ing*.

⁶⁰ The frontier line of Kalinga cannot have extended beyond the Godavari river on the south-west, and the Gaoliya branch of the Indravati river on the north-west (Cunningham). For an account of the Kalinga desa, see Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The chief town was probably Rajamahendri, where the Chalukyas perhaps established their capital. Either this place or Koringa, on the sea-coast, agrees with the bearing and distance given in the text. If, however we accept Fergusson's hypothesis that the capital of Konyodha was near Katak, and calculating the li to be one-seventh of a mile, we shall have to seek for the capital of Kalinga near Vijayanagram. For a notice respecting Rajamahendri see Sewell, *Lists, &c.*, vol. i. p. 22.

⁶¹ The same word is used in the previous section; see n. 60.

⁶² This description of their language will appear natural to those who have had Kling boys about them.

⁶³ Digambara Jainas, *ante*, vol. i. p. 186, n. 74

⁶⁴ *I.e.*, by stretching out their arms one to another, so close were they, there would be a continuous tent formed.

a Rishi possessed of the five supernatural powers,⁶⁵ who lived (*perched*) on a high precipice,⁶⁶ cherishing his pure (*thoughts*). Being put to shame (insulted) because he had gradually lost his magic powers, he cursed the people with a wicked imprecation, and caused all dwelling in the country, both young and old, to perish; wise and ignorant alike died, and the population disappeared. After many ages the country was gradually re peopled by emigrants, but yet it is not properly inhabited. This is why at the present time there are so few who dwell here.

Not far from the south of the capital there is a *stupa* about a hundred feet high; this was built by Asoka-*raja*. By the side of it there are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked.

Near the northern frontier of this country is a great mountain precipice,⁶⁷ on the top of which is a stone *stupa* about a hundred feet high. Here, at the beginning of the kalpa, when the years of men's lives were boundless, a Pratyeka⁶⁸ Buddha reached *Nirvana*.

From this going north-west through forests and mountains about 1,800 li, we come to the country of Kiao-sa-lo (Kosala).

KIAO-SA-LO (KOSALA)

This country⁶⁹ is about 5000 li in circuit; the frontiers consist of encircling mountain crags; forests and jungle are found together in succession. The capital⁷⁰ is about 40 li round; the

⁶⁵ Explained by Julien as referring to the *panchabhijnas*.

⁶⁶ Julien translates *gan* by "cavern"; but it means "a rocky or precipitous mountain."

⁶⁷ Perhaps Mahendragiri.

⁶⁸ A Pratyeka Buddha is one who has reached enlightenment "for himself alone"; that is, he is not able to enlighten others by preaching or guiding. In Chinese it is rendered *tuh hioh*, "a solitary Buddha," for the same reason.

⁶⁹ To be distinguished from Sravasti or Ayodhya, which district was also called Kosala or Kosala. See Wilson, *Vishnu-pur.*, vol. ii. p. 172; Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i. p. 160, vol. iv. p. 702. It lay to the south-west of Orissa and in the district watered by the upper feeders of the Mahanadi and Godavari.

⁷⁰ There is some uncertainty as to the capital of this country. General Cunningham, who identifies the ancient Kosala with the modern province of Berar or Gondwana, places it at Chandri, a walled town 290 miles to the north-west of Rajamahendri, with Nagpur, Amaravati, or Ilichpur as alternatives; the three last-named towns appear to be too far from the capital of Kalinga. But if we allow five li to the mile, the distance either of Nagpur or Amaravati from Rajamahendri would agree with the 1800 or 1900 li of Hsien Tsiang. There is much mention in I-tsing's memoirs of priests visiting and remaining at a place called Amaravati; it may refer to Kosala. Fergusson, calculating the li at one-sixth of a mile, suggests either Wairagarh or Bhandak, both of them sites of old cities, as the capital. He prefers the former for reasons stated (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 260).

soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant crops. The towns and villages are close together. The population is very dense. The men are tall and black complexioned. The disposition of the people is hard and violent; they are brave and impetuous. There are both heretics and believers here. They are earnest in study and of a high intelligence. The king is of the Kshattriya race; he greatly honours the law of Buddha, and his virtue and love are far renowned. There are about one hundred *sangharamas*, and somewhat less than 10,000 priests: they all alike study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. There are about seventy Deva temples, frequented by heretics of different persuasions.

Not far to the south of the city is an old *sangharama*, by the side of which is a *stupa* that was built by Asoka-*raja*. In this place Tathagata, of old, calling an assembly, exhibited his supernatural power and subdued the unbelievers. Afterwards Nagarjuna Bodhisattva (*Long-meng-p'u-sa*) dwelt in the *sangharama*. The king of the country was then called Sadvaha.⁷¹ He greatly prized and esteemed Nagarjuna, and provided him with a city-gate hut.⁷²

At this time Ti-p'o (Deva) Bodhisattva coming from the country of Chi-see-tseu (Ceylon), sought to hold a discussion with him. Addressing the gate-keeper he said, "Be good enough to announce me." Accordingly the gate-keeper entered and told Nagarjuna. He, recognising his reputation, filled up a *patra* with water and commanded his disciple to hold the water before this Deva. Deva, seeing the water, was silent, and dropped a needle into it. The disciple held the *patra*, and with some anxiety and doubt returned to Nagarjuna. "What did he say," he asked. The disciple replied, "He was silent and said nothing; he only dropped a needle into the water."

Nagarjuna said, "What wisdom! Who like this man! To know the springs of action (*motives*), this is the privilege of a god! to penetrate subtle principles is the privilege of an inferior saint."⁷³ Such full wisdom as this entitles him to be allowed to enter forthwith." He (the disciple) replied, "What a saying is this! is this then the sublime eloquence (*skill*) of silence?"

"This water," he (Nagarjuna) went on to say, "is shaped according to the form of the vessel that holds it; it is pure or dirty according to the character of things (*in it*); it fills up every interstice; in point of clearness and comprehensiveness⁷⁴ he, on

⁷¹ Expressed phonetically by So-to-p'o-ho, with the meaning, "he who draws the good."

⁷² Placed guards round his hut (Julien).

⁷³ An inferior saint (*ya shing*) is an expression applied to Mencius compared with Confucius (Julien). In this passage the title is referred to Deva in comparison with Buddha.

⁷⁴ I have translated it thus; literally it runs "clear and limpid and of unfathomable fullness, as you showed it to him."

beholding the water, compared it to the wisdom which I have acquired by study. Dropping into it a needle, he pierced it, as it were, to the bottom. Show this extraordinary man in here at once, and let him be presented."

Now the manner and appearance of Nagarjuna were imposing, and inspired all with respect. In discussion all were awed by it, and submitted (*bowed the head*). Deva being aware of his excellent characteristics, had long desired to consult him, and he wished to become his disciple. But now as he approached he felt troubled in mind, and he was abashed and timid. Mounting the hall, he sat down awkwardly and talked darkly; but at the end of the day his words were clear and lofty. Nagarjuna said, "Your learning exceeds that of the world and your fine distinctions shine brighter than the former (*teachers*). I am but an old and infirm man; but having met with one so learned and distinguished, surely it is for the purpose of spreading the truth and for transmitting without interruption the torch of the law, and propagating the teaching of religion. Truly this is one who may sit on the upper seat to expound dark sayings and discourse with precision."

Deva hearing these words, his heart conceived a degree of self-confidence, and being about to open the storehouse of wisdom, he first began to roam through the garden of dialectic and handle fine sentences; then having looked up for some indication of approval (*confirmation of his argument*), he encountered the imposing look of the master; his words escaped him; his mouth was closed; and leaving his seat, he made some excuse, and asked to be instructed.

Nagarjuna said, "Sit down again; I will communicate to you the truest and most profound principles which the king of the law himself verily handed down (*taught for transmission*)."
Deva then prostrated himself on the ground, and adored with all his heart, and said, "Both now and for ever I will dare to listen to your instructions."

Nagarjuna Bodhisattva was well practised in the art of compounding medicines; by taking a preparation (*pill or cake*), he nourished the years of life for many hundreds of years,⁷⁵ so that neither the mind nor appearance decayed. Sadvaha-rajā had partaken of this mysterious medicine, and his years were already several hundred in number. The king had a young son who one day addressed his mother thus, "When shall I succeed to the royal estate?" His mother said, "There seems to me to be no chance of that yet; your father the king is now several hundred years old, his sons and grandsons are many of them

⁷⁵ Some attribute 600 years to Nagarjuna as his term of life (*Vassilief, Bouddisme*, p. 76). This writer says, "In my opinion the 400 or 600 years of life given to Nagarjuna refer to the development of the system of the Great Vehicle" (*op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 1)

dead and gone through old age. This is the result of the religious power of Nagarjuna, and the intimate knowledge he has of compounding medicines. The day the Bodhisattva dies the king will also succumb. Now the wisdom of this Nagarjuna is great and extensive, and his love and compassion very deep; he would give up for the benefit of living creatures his body and life. You ought, therefore, to go, and when you meet him, ask him to give you his head. If you do this, then you will get your desire."

The king's son, obedient to his mother's instructions, went to the gate of the convent. The doorkeeper, alarmed, ran away,⁷⁶ and so he entered at once. Then Nagarjuna Bodhisattva was chanting as he walked up and down. Seeing the king's son he stopped, and said, "It is evening time now; why do you at such a time come so hastily to the priests' quarters? has some accident happened, or are you afraid of some calamity that you have hastened here at such a time?"

He answered, "I was considering with my dear mother the words of different *sastras*, and the examples (*therein given*) of sages who had forsaken (*given up*) the world, and I was led to remark on the great value set on life by all creatures, and that the scriptures, in their examples given of sacrifice, had not enforced this duty of giving up life readily for the sake of those who desired it. Then my dear mother said, 'Not so; the Sugatas (*shen shi*) of the ten regions, the Tathagatas of the three ages, whilst living in the world and giving their hearts to the object, have obtained the fruit. They diligently sought the way of Buddha; practising the precepts, exercising patience, they gave up their bodies to feed wild beasts, cut their flesh to deliver the dove. Thus Raja Chandraprabha⁷⁷ (Yueh-kwang) gave up his head to the Brahman; Maitribala (Ts'e li) raja fed the hungry Yaksha with his blood. To recite every similar example would be difficult, but in searching through the history of previous sages, what age is there that affords not examples? And so Nagarjuna Bodhisattva is now actuated by similar high principles; as for myself, I have sought a man who for my advantage would give me his head, but have never yet found such a person for years. If I had wished to act with violence and take the life of a man (*commit murder*), the crime would have been great and entailed dreadful consequences. To have taken the life of an innocent child would have been infamous and disgraced my character. But the Bodhisattva diligently practises the holy way and aspires after a while to the fruit of Buddha. His love extends to all beings and his goodness knows

⁷⁶ To announce the arrival of the king's son (Julien). But it would seem to mean he ran away through fear.

⁷⁷ For the story of Chandraprabha see R. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Lit.*, p. 310; for Maitribala, *ibid.*, p. 50.

no bounds. He esteems life as a bubble, his body as decaying wood. He would not contradict his purpose in refusing such a gift, if requested."

Nagarjuna said, "Your comparisons and your words are true. I seek the holy fruit of a Buddha. I have learnt that a Buddha is able to give up all things, regarding the body as an echo, a bubble, passing through the four forms of life,⁷⁸ continually coming and going in the six ways.⁷⁹ My constant vow has been not to oppose the desires of living things. But there is one difficulty in the way of the king's son, and what is that? If I were to give up my life your father also would die. Think well of this, for who could then deliver him?"

Nagarjuna, irresolute, walked to and fro, seeking for something to end his life with; then taking a dry reed leaf, he cut his neck as if with a sword, and his head fell from his body.

Having seen this, he (*the royal prince*) fled precipitately and returned. The guardian of the gate informed the king of the event from first to last, who whilst listening was so affected that he died.

To the south-west about 300 li we came to the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li (Brahmaragiri) mountain.⁸⁰ The solitary peak of this mountain towers above the rest, and stands out with its mighty precipices as a solid mass of rock without approaches or intervening valleys. The king, Sadvaha, for the sake of Nagarjuna Bodhisattva, tunnelled out this rock through the middle, and built and fixed therein (*in the middle*) a *sangharma*; at a distance of some 10 li, by tunnelling, he opened a covered way (*an approach*). Thus by standing under the rock (*not knowing the way in*) we see the cliff excavated throughout, and in the midst of long galleries (*corridors*) with eaves for walking under and high towers (*turrets*), the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls with *viharas* enclosed

⁷⁸ The four modes of life are described as creatures oviparous, viviparous, born from spawn or by transformation. See *Vajr. chhedika* cap. 2.

⁷⁹ The six ways of birth are (1) as Devas, (2) as men, (3) as Asuras, (4) as Pretas, (5) as beasts, (6) in hell.

⁸⁰ It would seem that this is the right restoration. The Chinese explanation is "the black peak," but here *fung*, "a peak," is probably a mistake for *fung*, "a bee." Brahmarā is an epithet of Durgā or Chanda. Assuming Bhandak to have been the capital of Kosala, the Wijnhasani and Dewala Hills, with the footprint of Bhīm, i.e., Siva (or, if Bhīma, the Durgā), would answer to the hill of Sadvaha. It is tolerably certain that the Po-lo-yu of Fa-hian is intended for Parvati (his interpretation of "pigeon" (Paravata) being derived from *hearday* at Banāras), and this corresponds with "Brahmarā." Altogether it seems probable that the worship of Durgā, or Chanda, or Bhīma, or Parvati, was affected in this part of India, and probably gave rise to, or at any rate fostered, the worship of Avalokitesvara or Kwan-yin. (See the question discussed. *J.R.A.S.* N.G., vol. xv, p. 344).

(united).⁸¹ In each *vihara* was a statue of Buddha cast in gold, of the size of life, wrought (cast) with consummate art and singularly adorned and specially ornamented with gold and precious stones. From the high peak of the mountain descending streamlets, like small cascades, flow through the different storeys, winding round the side galleries, and then discharging themselves without. Scattered light-holes illumine the interior (inner chambers).⁸²

When first Sadvaha-*raja* excavated this *sangharama*, the men (engaged in it) were exhausted and the king's treasures emptied. His undertaking being only half accomplished, his heart was heavily oppressed. Nagarjuna addressing him said, "For what reason is the king so sad of countenance?" The king replied, "I had formed in the course of reflection a great purpose."⁸³ I ventured to undertake a meritorious work of exceeding excellence which might endure firm till the coming of Maitreya, but now before it is completed my means are exhausted. So I sit disconsolate day by day awaiting the dawn, cast down at heart."

Nagarjuna said, "Afflict not yourself thus; the returns consequent on the high aims of a lofty religious purpose are not to be foiled: your great resolve shall without fail be accomplished. Return then to your palace; you shall have abundance of joy. To-morrow, after you have gone forth to roam through and observe the wild country round (the mountain wilds), then return to me and quietly discuss about the buildings." The king having received these instructions left him after proper salutation (turning to the right).

Then Nagarjuna Bodhisattva, by moistening all the great stones with a divine and superior decoction (*medicine* or *mixture*), changed them into gold. The king going forth and seeing the gold, his heart and his mouth mutually congratulated each other.⁸⁴ Returning, he went to Nagarjuna and said, "To-day as I roamed abroad, by the influence of the divine spirits (*genii*) in the desert, I beheld piles of gold." Nagarjuna said, "It was not by the influence of the *genii*, but by the power of your great sincerity; as you have this gold, use it therefore for your present necessities, and fulfil your excellent work." So the king acted

⁸¹ It seems to mean that in each platform there were four halls, and each of these halls had a *vihara* which were connected

⁸² The description of this rock-monastery in the text shows that it is the same as that described by Fa-hian (pp 139, 140, Beal's edition). Neither Fa-hian nor Hiuen Tsiang personally visited the spot. It would seem to have been utterly deserted and waste even in Fa-hian's time. This favours the record of its early construction in the time of Nagarjuna (about the first century B.C.).

⁸³ Or, "as my great heart was revolving in chance thoughts."

⁸⁴ That is, his words were in agreement with the happy thoughts entertained in his heart.

and finished his undertaking, and still he had a surplus. On this he placed in each of the five stages four great golden figures. The surplus still remaining he devoted to replenish the necessitous (*deficient*) branches of the exchequer.

Then he summoned 1000 priests to dwell (*in the building he had constructed*), and there to worship and pray. Nagarjuna Bodhisattva placed in it all the authoritative works of instruction spoken by Sakya Buddha, and all the explanatory compilations (*commentaries*) of the Bodhisattvas, and exceptional collection of the miscellaneous school.⁸⁵ Therefore in the first (*uppermost*) storey they placed only the figure of Buddha, and the *sutras* and *sastras*; in the fifth stage from the top (*i.e., in the lowest*), they placed the Brahmins (*pure men*) to dwell, with all necessary things provided for them; in the three middle storeys they placed the priests and their disciples. The old records state that when Sadvaha-*raja* had finished, he calculated that the salt consumed by the workmen cost nine *lotis* of gold pieces. Afterwards the priests having got angry and quarrelled, they went to the king to get the question settled. Then the Brahmins said amongst themselves, "The Buddhist priests have raised a quarrel on some question of words." Then these wicked men consulting together, waiting for the occasion, destroyed the *sangharama*, and afterwards strongly barricaded the place in order to keep the priests out.

From that time no priests of Buddha have lived there. Looking at the mountain caves (*or heights*) from a distance, it is impossible to find the way into them (*the caves*). In these times, when they (*the Brahmins*) introduce a physician into their abodes to treat any sickness, they put a veil over his face on going in and coming out, so that he may not know the way.

From this, going through a great forest south, after 900 li or so, we come to the contry of 'An-ta-lo (Andhra).

'AN-TA-LO (ANDHRA)

This country is about 3000 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li round. It is called P'ing-k'i-lo (Vingila?)⁸⁶ The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of cereals. The temperature is hot, and the manners

⁸⁵ If this be the right rendering of the passage, then the "miscellaneous school" will refer to the *sannipata* class of books. If, however, we adopt M. Julien's rendering, the passage will simply mean, "he collected these books (*viz., the sutras and sastras*) and divided them into sections." But if we examine the entire passage, it seems to imply that Nagarjuna collected (1) The books claiming the authority of Buddha's utterance; (2) the writings of the Bodhisattvas; (3) the other miscellaneous books.

⁸⁶ This is probably the old city of Vengi, north-west of Elur lake, between the Godavari and Krishna rivers, which was certainly in the early Andhra dominions. In the neighbourhood are said to be rock temples and other remains.

of the people fierce and impulsive. The language and arrangement of sentences differ from Mid-India, but with reference to the shapes of the letters, they are nearly the same. There are twenty *sangharamas* with about 3000 priests. There are also thirty Deva temples with many heretics.

Not far from Vingila (?) is a great *sangharama* with storeyed towers and balconies beautifully carved and ornamented. There is here a figure of Buddha, the sacred features of which have been portrayed with the utmost power of the artist. Before this convent is a stone *stupa* which is several hundred feet high; both the one and the other were built by the Arhat 'O-che-lo (Achala).⁸⁷

To the south-west of the *sangharama* of the Arhat 'O-che-lo not a great way is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Here Tathagata in old days preached the law, and exhibited his great spiritual powers, and converted numberless persons.

Going 20 li or so to the south-west of the *sangharama* built by Achala (*So-hing*), we reach a solitary mountain on the top of which is a stone *stupa*. Here Jina⁸⁸ Bodhisattva composed the *In-ming-lun* (*Nyayadvaya-tarka Sastra* or *Hetuvidya Sastra*?).⁸⁹ This Bodhisattva, after Buddha had left the world, received the doctrine and assumed the vestments (*of a disciple*). His wisdom and his desires (*prayers or vows*) were vast. The power of his great wisdom was deep and solid. Pitying the world, which was without any support (*reliance*), he designed to spread the sacred doctrine. Having weighed⁹⁰ the character of the *Hetuvidya Sastra*, its words so deep, its reasonings so wide, and (*having considered*) that students vainly endeavoured to overcome its difficulties in their course of study, he retired into the lonely mountains and gave himself to meditation to investigate it so as to compose a useful compendium, that might overcome the difficulties (*obscurities*) of the work, its abstruse doctrines and

⁸⁷ The Chinese translation of the Arhat's name is, "he who acts," it should therefore be restored to Achari. The restoration otherwise might be Achala, who is mentioned in an inscription at Ajanta. See *infra*.

⁸⁸ The phonetic symbols for Jina are *Ch'in-na*, it is translated by *t'ong sheu*, "youth-received," which Julien restores to Kumārālabdha. But this *Jina* cannot be translated by either of these phrases. (For an account of the works of this Bodhisattva see Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue*, Appendix i, No. 10). In Hwui-li (iv fol. 5, b.) the translation of *Ch'in-na* is simply *sheu*.

⁸⁹ There is much confusion here. The text gives only *In-ming-lun*, which must be restored to *Hetuvidya Sastra*; but Julien in his list of *errata*, p. 568, corrects the text, and supplies the title of the work, *In-ming-ching-li-men-lun*, i.e., *Nyayadvaya-tarka Sastra*. This may be so, but this work is not named in Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue* among those written by Jina.

⁹⁰ I do not see in the text that he composed this *sastra*, but considering its character (*i wei*), he, &c.

complicated sentences. At this time the mountains and valleys shook and reverberated; the vapour and clouds changed their appearance, and the spirit of the mountain, carrying the Bodhisattva to a height of several hundred feet, then repeated (*chanted*) these words, "In former days the Lord of the World virtuously controlled and led the people; prompted by his compassionate heart, he delivered the *Hetuvīdya Sastra*,⁹¹ and arranged in due order its exact reasonings, and its extremely deep and refined words. But after the *Nirvana* of Tathagata its great principles became obscured; but now Jina Bodhisattva, whose merit and wisdom are so extensive, understanding to the bottom the sacred well, will cause the *Hetuvīdya Sastra* to spread abroad its power (to add its weight) during the present day."

Then the Bodhisattva caused a bright light to shine and illumine the dark places (*of the world*), on which the king of the country conceived a deep reverence as he saw the sign of this brilliancy, and being in doubt whether he (*i.e.*, Bodhisattva) had not entered the *Vajrasamadhi* (or, diamond *Samadhi*); then he asked the Bodhisattva to obtain the fruit of "no further birth."⁹²

Jina said, "I have entered *Samadhi* from a desire to explain a profound *sutra*; my heart awaits perfect enlightenment (*samyak sambodhi*), but has no desire for this fruit that admits of no rebirth."

The king said, "The fruit of 'no-birth' is the aim of all the saints. To cut yourself off from the three worlds, and to plunge into the knowledge of the 'three vidyas,' how grand such an aim!⁹³ May you soon attain it!"

Then Jina Bodhisattva, pleased at the request of the king, conceived the desire to reach the holy fruit which "exempts from learning."⁹⁴

At this time Manjusri Bodhisattva (Miu-ki-ts'iang-p'u-sa), knowing his purpose, was moved with pity. Wishing to arouse him to the truth and to awaken him in a moment, he came and said, "Alas! how have you given up your great purpose, and only fixed your mind on your own personal profit, with narrow aims, giving up the purpose of saving all! If you would really do good, you ought to transmit and explain the rules of the *Yu-kia-sse-ti-lun* (*Yogacharya-bhumi Sastra*) of Maitreya Bodhisattva. By that you may lead and direct students, and cause them to receive great advantage."

Jina Bodhisattva receiving these directions, respectfully assented and saluted the saint. Then having given himself to

⁹¹ It does not necessarily mean that Buddha composed this work, but delivered (*shwo*) or spake it.

⁹² That is, to acquire the privilege of an Arhat.

⁹³ "This is the chief, or complete, thing."

⁹⁴ This also is a phrase to denote the condition of Arhatship.

profound study, he developed the teaching of the *Hetuvidya Sastra*; but still fearing that the students thereof would dread its subtle reasonings and its precise style, he composed the *Hetuvidya Sastra*,⁹⁵ exemplifying the great principles and explaining the subtle language, in order to guide the learners. After that he explained fully the Yoga discipline.

From this going through the desert forest south⁹⁶ 1000 li or so, we come to To-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhanakataka).⁹⁷

T'O-NA-KIE-TSE-KIA (DHANAKATAKA)

This country is about 6000 li in circuit, and the capital⁹⁸ some 40 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and is regularly cultivated, affording abundant harvests. There is much desert country, and the towns are thinly populated. The climate is hot. The complexion of the people is a yellowish black, and they are by nature fierce and impulsive. They greatly esteem learning. The convents (*sangharamas*) are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about twenty, with 1000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle. There are 100 Deva temples, and the people who frequent them are numerous and of different beliefs.

To the east of the capital (*the city*) bordering on (*leaning against*)⁹⁹ a mountain is a convent called the Purvasila (*Fo-p'o-shi-lo-seng*).¹⁰⁰ To the west of the city leaning against (*maintain-*

⁹⁵ The title is defective. It probably refers to the *Nyayadvarataraku Sastra*; but, on the other hand, this work was composed by Nagarjun (see B. Nanjio's *Catalogue*, 1223). The whole of the passage in the text referring to Jina is obscure, and probably corrupt.

⁹⁶ In the translation of Hwui-lih, Julien gives "vers le sud," which expression is quoted by Fergusson (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 262); but it is simply "going south" in the original.

⁹⁷ Called also the Great Andhra country. Julien has Dhanakachaka; the Pali inscriptions at Amaravati and Nasik give Dhamnakataka, for which the Sanskrit would be Dhanyakataka or Dhânyakataka; and in an inscription of 1361 A.D. we have Dhanyavatipura, and these would identify the city of Dhamnakataka with Dharanikata close to Amaravati (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. pp. 95 f.). The symbol *tse* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *ta*.

⁹⁸ Fergusson concludes from a report addressed to Government by the late J. A. C. Boswell, and also from some photographs by Captain Ross Thompson, that almost beyond the shadow of a doubt Bejwa'a is the city described by Hiuen Tsiang (*op. cit.*, p. 263). But see *Ind. Ant.*, ut cit.

⁹⁹ The word is *keu*, to hold, to rely on. In the *Analects* (vii 6, 2) there is the expression *Leu yu tih*, which Dr. Legge translates, "let every attainment in what is good be firmly grasped." I should suppose, therefore, the text means that the Purvasila convent was supported by or enclosed by a mountain on the east of the city.

¹⁰⁰ The symbol *lo* appears to be omitted. *Fo-lo-po* would be equal to Purva.

ed by) a mountain is a convent called Avarasila.¹⁰¹ These were (or, this was) built by a former king to do honour to (for the sake of) Buddha. He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long (or, lateral) galleries; wide chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns.¹⁰² The divine spirits respectfully defended (this place); both saints and sages wandered here and reposed. During the thousand years following the Nirvana of Buddha, every year there were a thousand laymen,¹⁰³ and priests who dwelt here together during the rainy season. When the time was expired, all who had¹⁰⁴ reached the condition of Arhats

¹⁰¹ 'O-fa-lo-shi-lo, Aparasila or West Mount. Fergusson identifies this with the Amaravati tope. The tope is 17 miles west of Bijwada. It stands to the south of the town of Amaravati, which again is 20 miles north-west of Guntur. The old fort called Dharnikot (which appears at one time to have been the name of the district) is just one mile west of Amaravati. "This celebrated Buddhist tope was first discovered by Raja Venkatadri Nayudu's servants in A.D. 1795: it was visited by Colonel Mackenzie and his survey staff in 1797; it was greatly demolished by the Raja, who utilised the sculptured marbles for building materials up to the year 1816. It was again visited by Colonel Mackenzie, who made large excavations, in 1816. Further excavation in 1835 (?); examined by Sir Walter Elliot, who unearthed the ruins of the western gateway in 1840. Excavations recommenced (by R. Sewell) in May 1877. Further excavations (by Dr. James Burgess) in 1882-83. Sewell's *List of Antiquarian Remains in Madras*, vol. i. p. 63. For a full valuable account of the sculptures of this tope see Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, also Burgess, *Report on the Amaravati Stupa*. An inscription, discovered by Dr. Burgess among the stones of the *stupa* proves "beyond doubt that the Amaravati *stupa* was either already built or was being built in the second century A.D., if not earlier" (Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 27).

¹⁰² This would appear to refer to his work in constructing a sort of "sacred way" leading to the tope. But the text does not supply any information beyond the fact of the excavations in connection with this western *sangharama*. But were these excavations confined to "the high mountain on the west of the town, full of caves, abutting on the river?" Perhaps an explanation may be found by supposing that the excavation of the mountain, &c., was independent of the building of the *sangharama*. In Hwui-lih there is nothing said about the caverns, galleries, and tunnels; he simply states that "the eastern and western *sangharamas* were built by a former king of the country, and he thoroughly searched through all the examples (*kw'ai shih*, rules and patterns) [of similar buildings] to be found in Tahia." Hsien Tsiang says that "the eastern and western convents were built [the symbol *ch'a* in the text is *lh* in Hwui-lih; I regard it as a misprint] by a former king," and then he goes on to say that "he moreover bored through the river valley, hollowed out a 10-d. divided the crag, raised pavilions (turreted chambers) with lateral galleries whilst wide chambers supported (pillowed) the heights and connected the caverns." This is all independent of building the *sangharamas*. I must confess, however, that the position of the *stupa*, seventeen miles west of the town, and on the other side of the river, seems to be a difficulty. With reference to Ta-hia, it is generally translated Baktria (Bretschneider, *Notices of Medieval Geography*, &c., p. 197). The rules and patterns of buildings in Baktria would, I should suppose, be those of the Greeks.

¹⁰³ *Fan fu*, common disciples.

¹⁰⁴ Or, it may mean all of them attained the condition of Arhats.

mounted into the air and fled away. After the thousand years the laymen and saints dwelt together; but for the last hundred years there have been no priests (*dwelling here*) in consequence of the spirit of the mountain changing his shape, and appearing sometimes as a wolf, sometimes as a monkey, and frightening the disciples; for this reason the place has become deserted and wild, with no priests to dwell there.

To the south¹⁰⁵ of the city a little way is a great mountain cavern. It is here the master of *sastras* P'o-pi-fei-kia (Bhavaviveka)¹⁰⁶ remains in the palace of the Asuras ('O-ssu-lo), awaiting the arrival of Maitreya Bodhisattva as perfect Buddha.¹⁰⁷ This master of *sastras* was widely renowned for his elegant scholarship and for the depth of his vast attainments (*virtue*). Externally he was a disciple of Kapila¹⁰⁸ (Sankhya), but inwardly he was fully possessed of the learning of Nagarjuna. Having heard that Dharmapala (Hu-fa-p'u-sa) of Magadha was spreading abroad the teaching of the law, and was making many thousand disciples, he desired to discuss with him. He took his religious staff in hand and went. Coming to Pataliputra (Po-ch'a-li) he ascertained that Dharmapala Bodhisattva was dwelling at the Bodhi tree. Then the master of *sastras* ordered his disciples thus: "Go you to the place where Dharmapala resides near the *Bodhi* tree, and say to him in my name, 'Bodhisattva (*i.e.*, •Dharmapala) publishes abroad the doctrine (*of Buddha*) bequeathed to the world: he leads and directs the ignorant. His followers look up to him with respect and humility, and so it has been for many days; nevertheless his vow and past determination have borne no fruit! Vain is it to worship and visit the *Bodhi* tree. Swear to accomplish your object, and then you will be in the end guide of gods and men.'" ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ According to the report quoted by Fergusson (*op. cit.*, p. 263), "immediately south of the town (*i.e.*, of Bejwada) is a singular isolated rock or hill, along whose base and sides there are the remains of a considerable number of rockcaves, &c."

¹⁰⁶ In Chinese Tsing-pin, "he who discusses with clearness" (Jul.); but in Wong-Puh (§ 193) he is called *Ming-pin*, which seems more accurate. For the story of this doctor see Wong-Puh (*loc cit.*)

¹⁰⁷ In this passage, as in the one relating to Kasyapa in the Kukku-tapada-giri, Julien has quite missed the sense; he translates as though Bhavaviveka had become a Buddha.

¹⁰⁸ In the text it is "externally he wore the clothes or costume of the Sankhya (*Sang-k'ie*), that is, he was a follower of Kapila by outward profession. Julien has translated it as though *Sang-k'ie* were equivalent to *Sang-kia-chi*, but the symbols are quite different and he himself gives *Sankhya* as the equivalent of *Sang-k'ie* (pp. 470, 527).

¹⁰⁹ This passage is obscure, and I offer my translation only as tentative. It appears to me that the message to the Bodhisattva was couched ironically. Bhavaviveka challenges Dharmapala on the ground that his

Dharmapala Bodhisattva answered the messenger thus: "The lives of men (*or*, generations of men) are like a phantom; the body is as a bubble. The whole day I exert myself; I have no time for controversy; you may therefore depart—there can be no meeting."

The master of *sastras* having returned to his own country, led a pure (*quiet*) life and reflected thus: "In the absence of¹¹⁰ Maitreya as a Buddha, who is there that can satisfy my doubts?" Then in front of the figure of the Bodhisattva Kwan-taz'tsai,¹¹¹ he recited in order the *Sin-to'-lo-ni* (*Hridaya-dharani*),¹¹² abstaining from food and drink. After three years Kwan-taz'tsai Bodhisattva appeared to him with a very beautiful¹¹³ body, and addressed the master of *sastras* thus: "What is your purpose (*will*)?" He said, "May I keep my body till Maitreya comes." Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bodhisattva said, "Man's life is subject to many accidents. The world is as a bubble or a phantom. You should aim at the highest resolve to be born in the Tushita heaven, and there, even now,¹¹⁴ to see him face to face and worship."

The master of *sastras* said, "My purpose is fixed; my mind

aim has not yet been accomplished, and to go to the Bodhi tree to worship is foolish and inoperative. 'Vow to accomplish your purpose, and it shall be accomplished irrespective of worship or humility.' This would seem to have been the tendency of Nagarjuna's teaching, and Bhavaviveka, though outwardly a follower of Kapila, was yet full of Nagarjuna's spirit.

¹¹⁰ That is, until Maitreya becomes Buddha, who is there that can answer my doubts? It is not that Maitreya *has* become B dīha, but until he does so become.

¹¹¹ This is indirectly a most important passage. It shows that Bhavaviveka, who was imbued "with the spirit of Nagarjuna," although professedly a follower of Kapila, exhibited his faith by going to Avalokitesvara. This, joined with the story of Sadvaha excavating the Brahmara (Durga) convent for Nagarjuna, shows that the worship of Durga (the *many-armed and the high*) was the chief feature in the spirit of Nagarjuna's teaching; in other words, that the fusion between Buddhism and the native worship of hill gods dates from Nagarjuna's time, and was brought about by his influence.

¹¹² This is a well-known *sutra* or mantra, has been translated in the *Journal of the R.A.S.*, 1875, p. 27; see also Bendall, *Catalogue of M.S.S.*, &c., p. 117, add. 1485. The composition of this *sutra* may, I think be attributed to Nagarjuna, as the founder of the Mahayana doctrine.

¹¹³ This "beautiful body" of Avalokitesvara seems to be derived from foreign sources. The character of the beauty may be seen from the plates supplied B. Hodgson in the *J.R.A.S.*, vol. vi, p. 276. There can be little doubt that we have here a link connecting this worship with that of Ardhvisuranahita, the Persian representative of the beautiful goddess of "pure water." Compare Anitis as Venus, and the Venus-mountains in Europe (Fensberg), the survival of the worship of hill-gods (See Karl Blind on "water-gods," &c., in the *Contemporary Review*).

¹¹⁴ This is the aim of the true Buddhist convert, to be born in the heaven of Maitreya after death, and there to hear his doctrine, so as to be able at his advent to receive his instruction and reach *Nirvana*. Opposed to this is the foreign theory of a Western paradise.

cannot be changed.”¹¹⁵ Bodhisattva said, “If it is so, you must go to the country of Dhanakataka, to the south of the city, where in a mountain cavern a diamond-holding (*Vajrapani*) spirit dwells, and there with the utmost sincerity reciting the *Chi-king-kang-t’o-lo-ni* (*Vajrapanidharani*), you ought to obtain your wish.”

On this the master of *sastras* went and recited (the *dharani*). After three years the spirit said to him, “What is your desire, exhibiting such earnest diligence?” The master of *sastras* said, “I desire that my body may endure till Maitreya comes, and Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva directed me to come here to request the fulfilment (of my desire). Does this rest with you, divine being?”

The spirit then revealed to him a formula and said, “There is an Asura’s palace in this mountain; if you ask according to the rule given you, the walls will open, and then you may enter and wait there till you see (*Maitreya*).” “But,” said the master of *sastras*, “dwelling in the dark, how shall I be able to see or know when the Buddha appears?” *Vajrapani* said, “When Maitreya comes into the world, I will then advertise you of it.” The master of *sastras* having received his instructions, applied himself with earnestness to repeat the sentences, and for three years, without any change of mind, he repeated the words to a nicety (*mustard-seed*).¹¹⁶ Then knocking at the rockcavern, it opened out its deep and vast recesses. Then an innumerable multitude appeared before him looking about them, but forgetful of the way to return. The master of *sastras* passed through the door, and addressing the multitude said, “Long have I prayed and worshipped with a view to obtain an opportunity to see

¹¹⁵ This exhibits the character of Bhavaviveka, who had charged Dharmapala with want of a strong determination (*oath*). See *ante*, n. 109.

¹¹⁶ Julien translates this “*sur un graine de seneve*.” Referring to my translation in Won-Puh, § 193, I had the honour to correspond with M. Julien on the subject, he only allowed that the point was worthy of consideration. His words are these: “Il me semble au contraire que cela signifie que la puissance des *dharani* recités sur une graine de seneve fut telle que cette graine, malgré sa légèreté extrême, put, étant projetée sur la pierre, la faire s’entrouvrir comme si elle avait été frappée avec un instrument d’une force, d’un poids extraordinaire.” But there is something to be said on the other side. To repeat a formula “to a mustard-seed,” is to repeat it perfect (*ad unquem*); hence the name of Siddhartha, “the perfect” (*yih-tsai-i-shing*), the son of Suddhodana, the promised was just this, “the white mustard-seed” (Siddhartha), because he was “perfectly endowed.” Whether the phrase, “faith as a grain of mustard-seed” (*os kokkon sinapeos*) does not mean “perfect faith” (an Orientalism introduced into Palestine, *os* used for *eos* or *pros* is a point I shall not urge; but probably the familiar story of “Open Sesame” is derived from the legend of Bhavaviveka and the “mustard-seed.” Both Ali Babā and the master of *sastras* succeeded in opening the cavern gate by a “mustard-seed” formula. Cunningham connects the name of the place, *Dharani* kota, with this legend (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 538).

Maitreya. Now, thanks to the aid of a spiritual being, my vow is accomplished. Let us therefore enter here, and together await the revelation of this Buddha."

Those who heard this were stupefied, and dared not pass the threshold. They said, "This is a den of serpents; we shall all be killed." Thrice he addressed them, and then only six persons were content to enter with him. The master of *sastras* turning himself and advancing, then all the multitude followed him with their gaze as he entered. After doing so the stone walls closed behind them, and then those left without chided themselves for neglecting his words addressed to them.

From this going south-west 1000 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Chu-li-ye (Chulya).

CHU-LI-YE (CHULYA OR CHOLA)

The country of Chulya (Chola) is about 2,400 or 2,500 li in circuit; the capital is about 10 li round. It is deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungle. The population is very small, and troops of brigands go through the country openly. The climate is hot; the manners of the people dissolute and cruel. The disposition of the men is naturally fierce; they are attached to heretical teaching. The *sangharamas* are ruined and dirty as well as the priests. There are some tens of Deva temples, and many Nirgrantha heretics.

At a little distance south-east of the city is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. Here Tathagata in old time dwelt, and exhibited his spiritual power, and preached the sublime law, and defeated the heretics, delivering both men and Devas.

Not far to the west of the city three is an old *sangharama*. This was the place where Ti-p'o (Deva) Bodhisattva discussed with an Arhat. In the first instance, Deva Bodhisattva heard that in this convent there was an Arhat called Uttara (Wu-ta-lo) who possessed the six supernatural powers (*shadabhiñjas*) and the eight *vimokshas* (*means of deliverance*); forthwith he came from a distance to observe his manner, as a model. Having arrived at the convent, he asked the Arhat for a night's lodging. Now in the place where the Arhat lived (*in his cell*) there was only one bed. Having entered, in the absence of a mat, he spread some rushes on the ground, and showing it to him, begged him to be seated. Having taken the seat, the Arhat entered into *samadhi*, and came out of it after midnight. Then Deva proposed to him his doubts, and prayed him to answer them. The Arhat took up each difficulty and explained it. Deva, closely examining each word, pressed his difficulties in the way of cross-examination, till after the seventh round of discussion the Arhat closed his mouth and declined (*was unable*) to reply. Then using secretly his divine faculties, he passed into the Tushita heaven, and there questioned Maitreya. Maitreya gave the

required explanations, but because of their character he added, "This is the celebrated Deva who for a succession of kalpas has practised religion, and in the middle of the Bhadra-kalpa ought to attain the condition of Buddha. You do not know this."¹¹⁷ You should greatly honour him and pay him reverence." In a moment he returned to his seat, and once more entered on a clear explanation (*of the difficulties*), which he expressed in great precision and language. Deva addressing him said, "This is the explanation of the holy wisdom of Maitreya Bodhisattva. It is not possible for you, reverend sir, to have discovered such profound answers." Then the Arhat said, "It is so in truth; the will of Tathagata." On this, rising from his mat, he offered him worship and profound reverence and praise.

Going from this south, we enter a wild forest district, and passing 1,500 or 1,600 li, we come to the country of Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Dravida).

TA-LO-PI-CH'A (DRAVIDA)

This country is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital of the country is called Kanchipura (Kin-chi-pu-lo),¹¹⁸ and is about 30 li round. The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteem learning; in respect of their language and written characters, they differ but little from those of Mid-India. There are some hundred of *sangharamas* and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthavira (*Chang-tso-pu*) school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Deva temples, and many heretics called Nirgranthas. Tathagata in olden days, when living in the world, frequented this country much; he preached the law here and converted men, and therefore Asoka-rajā built *stupas* over all the sacred spots where these traces exist. The city of Kanchipura is the native place of Dharmapala Bodhisattva.¹¹⁹ He was the eldest son of a great minister of the country. From his childhood he exhibited much cleverness, and as he grew up it increased and extended. When he became a young man,¹²⁰ the king and queen condescended to entertain

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¹¹⁸ This must be Conjiveram. I do not think the text in Hwui-lih can be construed as Julien takes it "the town of *Kin-chi* is situated on a port of the sea." The original runs thus. "The town of *Kin-chi* is the opening (mouth) of the southern sea of India, and in the direction of Sinhala the water journey is three days." It seems to imply that Conjiveram was the central town from which the traffic to Ceylon was conducted.

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him at a (*marriage*) feast. On the evening of the day his heart was oppressed with sorrow, and being exceedingly afflicted, he placed himself before a statue of Buddha and engaged in earnest prayer (*supplication*). Moved by his extreme sincerity, the spirits removed him to a distance, and there he hid himself. After going many hundred li from this spot he came to a mountain convent, and sat down in the hall of Buddha. A priest happening to open the door, and seeing this youth, was in doubt whether he was a robber or not. After interrogating him on the point, the Bodhisattva completely unbosomed himself and told him the cause; moreover he asked permission to become a disciple. The priests were much astonished at the wonderful event, and forthwith granted his request. The king ordered search to be made for him in every direction, and at length finding out that Bodhisattva had removed to a distance from the world, driven¹²¹ by the spirit (*or*, spirits), then he redoubled his deep reverence and admiration for him. From the time that Dharmapala assumed the robes of a recluse, he applied himself with unflagging earnestness to learning. Concerning his brilliant reputation we have spoken in the previous records.¹²²

To the south of the city not a great way is a large *sangharama*, in which men of the same sort, renowned for talent and learning, assemble and stop. There is a *stupa* about 100 feet high which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Here Tathagata, dwelling in old days, repeated the law and subdued the heretics, and converted both men and Devas in great number.

Going 3000 li or so south from this, we come to the country of Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a (Malakuta).

MO-LO-KIU-CH'A (MALAKUTA)

This country¹²³ is about 5000 li in circuit; the capital is about 40 li. The land and fields are impregnated with salt, and the

¹²¹ Both here and in the preceding portion of the narrative the phrase used is *shin fu*, which may either mean "carried by spirits" (in the sense of divine spirits) or "driven by his own spirit." Julien adopts the former rendering. We should in this case have expected to find the phrase *kwei shin*, instead of *shin*. Hwui-lih, however, tells us that it was "a great king of the spirits" (one of the Mahadeva-*rajas*) that carried him away.

¹²² See *ante*, Book v. p. 257. For some account of his writings, compare Hwui-lih, book iv. p. 191 (Jul); see also note 87, book ix.

¹²³ The distance given (3000 li or so) south from Conjivaram seems to be excessive. But none of the distances given by Hiuen Tsiang from *hearsay* are to be depended on. Compare, for example, the distance given from Charitra, in Orissa, to Ceylon, viz., about, 20,000 li. This part of the pilgrim's itinerary is beset with difficulties. In the text before us, the use of the symbol *hing* would denote that he went personally to the Malakuta kingdom, but in Hwui-lih we are told that he heard only of this country, and his intention was evidently to embark, probably at the mouth of the Conjiveram river, for Ceylon, when he heard from the priests who came from that country to Kin-chi of the death of the king

produce of the earth is not abundant. All the valuables that are collected in the neighbouring islets are brought to this country and analysed. The temperature is very hot. The men are dark complexioned. They are firm and impetuous in disposition. Some follow the true doctrine, others are given to heresy. They do not esteem learning much, but are wholly given to commercial gain. There are the ruins of many old convent, but only the walls are preserved, and there are few religious followers. There are many hundred Deva temples, and a multitude of heretics, mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas.

Not far to the east of this city is an old *sangharama* of which the vestibule and court are covered with wild shrubs; the foundation walls only survive. This was built by Mahendra, the younger brother of Asoka-*raja*.

To the east of this is a *stupa*, the lofty walls of which are buried in the earth, and only the crowing part of the cupola remains. This was built by Asoka-*raja*. Here Tathagata in old days preached the law and exhibited his miraculous powers, and converted endless people. To preserve the traces of this event, this memorial tower was built. For years past it has exhibited spiritual signs, and what is wished for in its presence is sometimes obtained.

Raja Buna Mugalan and the famine. Fergusson, assuming Nellore to have been the capital of Chola (I may here notice, by the way, that the symbols used for this country are the same both in *Hwui-lih* and the *Si-yu-ki*, so that the "Djourya" adopted by Julien in the *Life* of Huen Tsiang is the same as "Tchoulyia" in the *Si-yu-ki*), is disposed to refer Kin-chi-pu-lo to Nagapattanam, and so get over the difficulty which arises from Hwui-lih's remarks that "the town of Kin-chi is at the sea-mouth on the water-road to Ceylon," and also the distance from Nellore of 1500 or 1600 li. But this would involve us in subsequent difficulties; the name of Kanchipura, moreover, is the well-known equivalent for Conjeveram, and it is impossible to disregard this. M. V. de St. Martin, relying on Hwui-lih, says (*Memoire*, p. 399) that Huen-Tsiang did not go farther south than Kanchipura, but, on the other hand, Dr. Burnell is of opinion that Huen-Tsiang returned from Malakuta to Kanchipura (*Ind. Ant.*, vii. p. 39). It is certain that on his way to the Konkan he started from Dravida; I am disposed, therefore, to think that he did not go farther south than Kin-chi. In this case the subsequent account he gives us of Malakuta, Mount Malaya, and Potaraka, is derived from hearsay. With regard to Malakuta, Dr. Burnell has shown (*loc. cit.*) that "this kingdom was comprised roughly in the delta of the Kaveri." This would lead us to suppose that the capital was somewhere near Kumbhaghonam or Avur; but how then shall we account for the 300 li of Huen-Tsiang? the actual distance south from Conjeveram to this neighbourhood being only 150 miles, or, at most, 1000 li. For an account of Kumbhaghonam, see Sewall, *Lists of Antiq. Remains in Madras*, vol. i. p. 274. Dr. Burnell gives the name Malaikurram as possibly that by which Kumbhaghonam was known in the seventh century (*ibid.*). In a note the Chinese editor remarks that Malakuta is also called Chi-mo-lo; Julien restores this to Tchimor (p. 121, n.), and also to Tchimala "the Simour of M. Reinaud" (Jul., iii. 530). I have given reasons for thinking that Chi-mo-lo is the equivalent for Kumar (*J.R.A.S.*, vol. xv. p. 337).

On the south of this country, bordering the sea, are the Mo-la-ye (Malaya) mountains,¹²⁴ remarkable for their high peaks and precipices, their deep valleys and mountain torrents. Here is found the white sandal-wood tree and the *Chan-i'an-ni-p'o* (*Chandaneva*)¹²⁵ tree. These two are much alike, and the latter can only be distinguished by going in the height of summer to the top of some hill, and then looking at a distance great serpents may be seen entwining it: thus it is known. Its wood is naturally cold, and therefore serpents twine round it. After having noted the tree, they shoot an arrow into it to mark it.¹²⁶ In the winter, after the snakes have gone, the tree is cut down. The tree from which *Kie-pu-lo* (*Karpura*) scent is procured,¹²⁷ is in trunk like the pine, but different leaves and flowers and fruit. When the tree is first cut down and sappy, it has no smell; but when the wood gets dry, it forms into veins and splits; then in the middle is the scent, in appearance like mica, of the colour of frozen snow. This is what is called (in Chinese) *long-nao-hiang*, the dragon-brain scent.

To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Po-ta-lo-kia (Potalaka).¹²⁸ The passes of this mountains are very dangerous: its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokitesvara¹²⁹ in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (*fording the streams*) climb the mountain forgetful of its difficulties and dangers; of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit.

¹²⁴ These mountains, or this mountain, bordering on the sea, may either represent the Malabar Ghats generally, or, more probably, the detached mass of the Ghats south of the Koimbatour gap, apparently the true Malaya of the Pauranic lists. See *Ind. An.*, vol. xiii. p. 38; Sewall, *op. cit.*, p. 252. The term *Ma-la-ye* is also applied to a mountainous district in Ceylon, of which Adam's Peak is the centre (Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub voc.); compare *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. xv. p. 336. It would seem, at any rate, if this district of Malaya, "bordering on the sea," was a part of the kingdom of Malakuta, that the latter cannot be confined to the delta of the Kaveri, but must be extended to the southern sea coast. This would explain the alternative name of Chi-mo-lo (Kumar). *Malaya* means any "mountainous region."

¹²⁵ That is, a tree "like the sandal-wood" (Jul., n. 1).

¹²⁶ Compare Julien, note 2 (*in loco*), and Burnouf, *Introd. to Buddhism*, p. 620. The Malaya mountain is called Chandanagiri, part of the southern range of the Ghats, because of the sandal-wood found here (Monier Williams, *Sansc. Dict.* s. v. *Chandana*).

¹²⁷ That is, *camphor*.

¹²⁸ The situation of this mountain has been discussed (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. iv. p. 339 ff.)

¹²⁹ See vol. i. p. 121, n. 210.

But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsai-t'ien (Isvara-deva), sometimes under the form of a yogi (*a Pasupata*); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires.

Going north-east from this mountain, on the border¹³⁰ of the sea, is a town;¹³¹ this is the place from which they start for the southern sea and the country of Sang-kia-lo (Ceylon). It is said commonly by the people that embarking from this port and going south-east about 3000 li we come to the country of Simhala.

END OF BOOK X

¹³⁰ The symbol used implies "a division of the sea," as though it were at a point where the sea divided into an eastern and western ocean.

¹³¹ There is no name given; it is simply stated there is a town from which they go to Ceylon. If it were intended to give the name Charitrapura to it, there would be no symbol between the word for "city or town" and the word "go." M. Julien's parenthesis has misled Dr. Burnell and others. Dr. Burnell has also argued on a mistaken translation as to the position of this town, which he identifies with Kaveripattanam. *Id. Ant.* vol. vii. p. 40). Julien says, "Going from Malakuta in a north-eastern direction, on the borders of the sea is a town (called Che-li-ta-to, Charitrapura)." Conf. *ante*, Bk. 10, n. 55. But, in fact, the original states, "Going from this mountain, *i.e.* Mount Malaya, in a north-eastern direction, there is a town at the sea-dividing." So that Dr. Burnell's conclusions, so far as this part of his argument goes, are not supported by the text. On the other hand, it is stated by I-tsing that "going west thirty days from Quedah, merchants used to arrive at Nagavadana, whence after two days' voyage they reach Ceylon" (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 50). This looks as though Nagapattanam were the town referred to by Hiuen Tsiang.

BOOK XI

Contains an account of twenty-three kingdoms, viz., (1) *Sang-kia-lo*; (2) *Kong-kien-na-pu-lo*; (3) *Mo-ho-la-c'ha*; (4) *Polu-kie-che-p'o*; (5) *Mq-la-p'o*; (6) *O-c'ha-li*; (7) *Kie-ch'a*; (8) *Fa-la-pi*; (9) *'O-nan-to-pu-lo*; (10) *Su-la-ch'a*; (11) *Kiu-che-lo*; (12) *U-she-yen-na*; (13) *Shi-kie-tu*; (14) *Mo-hi-chi-fa-lo-po-lo*; (15) *Sin-to*; (16) *Mo-lo-san-pu-lo*; (17) *Po-fa-to*; (18) *O-tien-p'o-chi-lo*; (19) *Long-kie-lo*; (20) *Po-la-sse*; (21) *Pi-to-shi-lo*; (22) *O-fan-c'ha*; (23) *Fa-la-na*.

SANG-KIA-LO (SIMHALA)¹

THE kingdom of Simhala is about 7000 li in circuit; ² the capital is about 40 li round. The soil is rich and fertile; the climate is hot; the ground is regularly cultivated; flowers and fruits are produced in abundance. The population is numerous; their family possessions are rich in revenues. The stature of the men is small. They are black complexioned³ and fierce by nature. They love learning and esteem virtue. They greatly⁴ honour religious excellence, and labour in the acquisition of religious merit. This country was originally (*called*) Pao-chu⁴ (Ratnadvipa), because of the precious gems found there. It was occupied by evil spirits.⁵

¹ Simhala or Ceylon was not visited by Hiuen Tsiang for reasons given in the last book. Fa-hian, however, resided in the island for two years (cap. 40). For the various names by which this island has been known, we may refer to Vincent (*Navigation of the Ancients*, &c.) Colonel Yule doubts whether we owe the name Ceylon or Scilan to Simhala (*Marco Polo*, ii. p. 254, note 1). Childers traces the derivation of the word Elu to this name Sihala (*Notes on the Sinhalese Language*). See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii. pp. 33 ff.

² For the exaggerated reports concerning the size of this island, we may refer to Tennent's *Ceylon*, cap. i., and Yule, *Marco Polo* (vol. ii. p. 254, n. 1). The circuit of the island is really under 700 miles. We must therefore allow 10 li to the mile if Hiuen Tsiang's statement is to be received. Fa-hian is much more nearly correct in his figures, but in his account we must substitute *length* for *breadth* (cap. 37).

³ This must refer to the Tamil population. The Sinhalese are tall and comparatively fair.

⁴ That is, the "isle or islet of gems." So it was called by the Arabs of the ninth century (Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 255). The Javanese word for precious stone is *sela*, and from this, some think, comes the word Sailan or Ceylon (*ibid*). In any case the name itself, "gem-island," was an old one; the regular formation would give us Ratnadvipa.

⁵ The construction of the text and context is a little unusual. It seems to imply that because the island abundantly possessed gems and precious stones, it was a resting-place for demons and spirits, or demons. Of course it refers to the Rakshasis or Yakkinis. Comp. Wever, *Ramayana*, p. 25 (Boyd's translation).

After this there was a king of a country of Southern India, whose daughter was affianced in a neighbouring country. On a fortunate day, having paid a complimentary visit, she was returning when a lion met her on the way. The servants of the guard left her and fled from the danger. Resting alone in her car, her heart was resigned to death. At this time the lion king, taking the woman on his back, went away and entered a lone valley in the deep mountains.⁶ He caught the deer and gathered the fruits according to their season, with which to nourish her. In the course of time she brought into the world a boy and a girl. In form and features they resembled human beings, but in disposition they were like the beast tribes.

The youth gradually grew up, and was possessed of great bodily strength, so that he could subdue the wildest beasts. When he came to man's estate,⁷ the wisdom of his manhood also came, and he asked his mother, saying, "What am I to be called? My father is a savage beast, and my mother is a human creature. But as you differ in kind, how can you have lived together?" Then the mother related the old story, and told it to her son. Her son, replying, said, "Men and beasts are of different kinds. We ought to hasten away from this." The mother replied, "I should have fled long ago, but I cannot help myself." Then the son from that time forth stopped at home whenever his father, the lion, roamed forth through the mountain passes, with a view to escape the difficult (*position in which they were placed*). And now on a certain occasion, his father having gone forth, he proceeded to carry away his mother and sister to a village inhabited by men. The mother then said, "You ought, both of you, to keep this matter secret, and say nothing about the first transaction, for if people were to come to hear of it, they would lightly esteem us."

On this she returned to her father's country but it no longer

⁶ For notices of this legend see Prof. Vasconcellos Abreu, *Fragmentos d'uma tentativa de Estudo scolastico da Epopeia Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1880), pp. 40-75; or *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii. pp. 33 ff.; *Dipavamsa*, ch. ix., Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 241 n; Burnouf *Introd.*, pp 198 f. It owes its origin probably to the rape of a woman during a seaboard raid. Some of the northern tribes (invaders of India) affected the name of lion (simha or li). Compare *Fo-sho*, v. 1788. There are three events (obscure in themselves, yet perhaps connected) which happened in India about the time of Buddha: (1) The invasion of north-west of India by the Vrijjis; (2) the incursion of Yavanas into Orissa; (3) the invasion and conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya. These events may have had a mutual relationship; the pressure of the Vrijjis from the north-west would drive the intermediate tribes on Orissa, and from Orissa some of the adventurers would start for fresh conquests by sea. Precisely similar events occurred in the west a few centuries afterwards. Compare Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 58; Beal, *Abstract of Four Lectures, Introduction*, ix, x, xi, and also the sculptures in the Ganesa Gumpha and Ranika Nur caves, Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

⁷ Reached the age of twenty years.—Julien.

belonged to her family, and the sacrifices of her ancestors had all died out. Having taken refuge in the town, all the men addressed her, saying, "From what kingdom do you come?" She said, "I belong to this country. Having wandered through strange places, we have come back, mother and son together (*to our home*)."

Then the village people were moved with pity, and provided them with necessary food. And now the lion king returning to his place, saw no one there. Thinking with affection of his son and daughter, he was moved with rage, and went away through the mountains and valleys, and roamed through the towns and villages, roaring frightfully and destroying the people, slaughtering and mangling every living thing. The town-folk went forth, therefore, to pursue and capture him, in order to kill him. They beat the drums, sounded the conch, and with their bows and spears formed a large company; but yet they lagged behind (*delayed*) in order to escape danger. Then the king, fearing that their courage was little,⁸ organised a band of hunters to capture the lion. He himself went with an army consisting of the four kinds of troops, amounting to tens of thousands, and beat through the woods and jungle, and traversed the mountains and valleys (*in search of their prey*). The lion raising his terrible roar, men and beasts flee in consternation.

Not being captured in the hunt, the king again made a proclamation, and promised that whoever captured the lion and freed the country from the affliction should be largely rewarded and his reputation widely published.

The son hearing the royal decree, spoke to his mother and said, "We have suffered much from hunger and cold. I certainly will answer to the appeal. Perhaps we may thus get enough to support us."

The mother said, "You ought not to think of it; for though he is a beast, yet he is still your father. What though we be wretched through want? this is no reason why you should encourage a wicked and murderous thought."⁹

The son said, "Men and beasts are of a different kind. What room is there for the question of propriety in such a matter as this? Why should such a thought interfere with my plan?" So seizing a knife and concealing it in his sleeve, he went forth to answer to the appeal. On this a thousand people and ten thousand horsemen assembled in crowds (*like the clouds and vapour*). The lion lay hid in the forest, and no one dared to approach him. On this the son forthwith advanced to him, and the father, tame and crouching, forgot in his sense of loving

⁸ The virtue (viz., of manliness) which influenced them did not prevail (far).

⁹ Wicked, i.e., unnatural, against nature.

affection all his previous hate. Then he (*the son*) plunged the knife into the middle of his bowels, but he still exhibited the same love and tenderness, and was free from all anger or revengeful feeling even when his belly was ripped up, and he died in agony.¹⁰

The king then said, "Who is this man who has done such a wonderful deed?" Allured by promises of reward on the one hand, and alarmed by fear of punishment on the other, if he kept back anything, he at last revealed the whole from beginning to end, and told the touching story without reserve. The king said, "Thou wretch! if thou wouldst kill thy father, how much more those not related to thee! Your deserts indeed are great for delivering my people from the savage cruelty of a beast whose (*passions*) it is difficult to assuage, and whose hateful tempers are easily aroused; but to kill your own father, this is a rebellious (*unnatural*) disposition. I will reward your good deed largely, but shall be banished from the country as the punishment of your crime. Thus the laws will not be infringed and the king's words not violated." On this he prepared two large ships (*boats*) in which he stored much provision (*cured rice or other grain*). The mother he detained in the kingdom, and provided her with all necessary things as the reward of the service done. The son and daughter each were placed in a separate boat, and abandoned to the chance of the waves and the wind. The boat in which the son was embarked, driven over the sea, came to this Ratnadvipa. Seeing it abounded in precious gems, he took up his abode here.

Afterwards merchants seeking for gems frequently came to the island. He then killed the merchant chief and detained his children. Thus he extended his race. His sons and grandsons becoming numerous, they proceeded to elect a king and ministers and to divide the people into classes. They then built a city and erected towns, and seized on the territory by force; and because their original founder got his name by catching a lion,¹¹ they called the country (*after his name*) Simhala.

The boat in which the girl was embarked was driven over the sea till it reached Persia (*Po-la-see*), the abode of the western demons, who by intercourse with her engendered a clan of women-children, and therefore the country is now called the Country of the Western Women;—this is the reason.

The men of the Simha kingdom are small in stature and black-complexioned; they have square chins and high foreheads; they are naturally fierce and impetuous, and cruelly savage with-

¹⁰ The cave pictures from Ajanta given in Mrs. Speir's *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 300 ff. seem to refer to the history of Vijaya and the "lion" legend; see also Burgess, *Cave Temples*, &c., pp. 312 f.

¹¹ *Chih-sse-tseu*, lion-catching; this seems also to be the meaning of *simhala*, where *la* means to catch or take. The *Dipavamsa* brings Vijaya, the son of Simha, from Simhapura in Lala (Gujarat).

out hesitation. This is from their inherited disposition as descended from a beast ; but another version of the story is that they are very brave and courageous.

The records of the Buddhist religion say : In the middle of a great iron city of this Ratnadvipa (P'ao-anu) was the dwelling of the Rakshasi women (Lo-t'sa). On the towers of this city they erected two high flagstaffs with lucky or unlucky signals, which they exhibited according to circumstances¹² (*to allure mariners*), when merchants came to the island (*Ratnadvipa*). Then they changed themselves into beautiful women, holding flowers and scents, and with the sound of music¹³ they went forth to meet them, and caressingly invited them to enter the iron city ; then having shared with them all sorts of pleasure, they shut them up in an iron prison, and devoured them at their leisure.

At this time there was a great merchant of Jambudvipa called Sang-kia (Simha) whose son was called Sang-kia-la (Simhala). His father having grown old, he was deputed to take charge of the house (*family*) ; he embarked, therefore, with 500 merchants to seek for precious stones ; driven by the winds and waves, they came to Ratnadvipa.

Then the Rakshasis, displaying the lucky signal, began to wave it, and went forth with scents and flowers and the sound of music to meet them, and invite them to enter the iron city. The prince of the merchants accordingly, matched with the queen of the Rakshasis, gave himself up to pleasure and indulgence. The other merchants also selected each one a companion, and so, in the course of time, a son was born to each. After this, the Rakshasis, feeling tired of their old partners' love, (*were preparing to*) shut them up in the iron prison, and to seek new companions among other merchants.

At this time, Sang-kia-la, moved in the night by an evil dream, and impressed with a sense of its bad augury, sought some mode of escape, and coming to the iron stronghold, he heard the sounds of piteous cries within. Forthwith he climbed a great tree, and questioned them, saying, "Who are you thus bound, and why these miserable cries ?" They replied, "Do

¹² "If circumstances were propitious, they agitated the lucky flag or drapery ; if they were unfortunate or unlucky, they moved the unpropitious signal." It would seem to mean that if a ship drew near the shore as if to anchor, then the favourable flag or signal was shown ; but if she kept away on her voyage, then the unfavourable signal was displayed. Or it may mean that the signal was to allure mariners.

¹³ The curious parallel between the ways of these Rakshasis and the Siren has attracted frequent notice. Compare Pausanias, book x. cap. vi. *Seirenon nesos anapleous oston viz.*, of those who had listened to their songs. Homer, *Odys.*, xii. 178, &c., with the account in the text and in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha*, p. 339. See also *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. x. p. 291, and the *Academy*, Aug. 13, 1881, pp. 120, 121.

you not know then that the women who occupy this place are all Rakshasis? In former days, they allured us to enter the city with festive sounds of music, but when you arrived, they shut us up in this prison, and are gradually devouring our flesh. Now we are half eaten up; your turn too will soon come."

Then Sang-kia-la (Simhala) said, "By what device then may we escape this danger?" They replied, and said, "We hear that on the sea-board there is a divine horse,¹⁴ and whoever prays with supreme faith he will safely carry him across."

Simhala having heard this, secretly told the merchants his companions to assemble altogether on the sea-shore and there to offer up fervent prayers for deliverance. Then the divine horse came and addressed the men and said, "Each one of you grasp my hairy coat and look not behind; then will I deliver you and transport you across the sea out of danger's way. I will conduct you back to Jambudvipa, to your happy homes (country)."

Then the merchants, obeying his directions, did each one implicitly as commanded. They seized the hairy coat (of the divine horse). Then he mounted aloft, traversed through the clouds, and passed the sea to the other side.

Then the Rakshasis, perceiving all at once their husbands had escaped, spoke one to another in surprise, and asked where they had gone. Then, taking each her child, they traversed to and fro the air. Perceiving, then, that the merchants had just left the shore, they issued a general order to unite in their flight to follow them. Not an hour had passed but they encountered them, and then, with mingled joy and tears, they came, and for a time restraining their grief they said, "We thought ourselves happy when first we met you, and made it our care to provide you homes, and for long have loved and cherished you, but now you are departing and deserting your wives and children, leaving them desolate. Who can bear the terrible grief that afflicts us! We pray you stay your departure and turn again with us to the city."

But the minds of the merchants were as yet unwilling to consent. The Rakshasis, seeing their words had no effect, had recourse to seductive blandishments, and by their counsels excited the feelings of the merchants; in consequence of which, being unable to suppress their tender emotions, their steadfastness forsook them, and, hesitating to go on, they paused, and at length returned in company with the Rakshasis. The women

¹⁴ The horse is called Kesi in the *Abhinishkramana Sutra* (*Romantic Legend*, loc. cit.) The reference appears to be to the change of monsoon which would favour the departure of merchants (see note in the *Romantic Legend*). Avalokitesvara is often spoken of as a white horse, i.e., as one who came across the sea

saluting and congratulating each other, closely holding to the men, went back.

Now the wisdom of Simhala was deep, and his firm purpose remained unchanged, and so he succeeded in traversing the ocean, and thus escaped the danger.

- Then the queen of the Rakshasis returned alone to the iron city; on which the other women addressing her said, "You are without wisdom or astuteness, and so you are abandoned by your husband; since you have so little cleverness or capacity you cannot dwell here." On this the Rakshasi queen, taking her child, hastened her flight after Simhala. She indulged before him in excessive blandishments and entreated him tenderly to return. But Simhala repeated with his mouth some spiritual charms, and with his hand brandishing a sword, he said, "You are a Rakshasi and I am a man, men and demons belong to different classes, there can be no union between such; if you trouble me further with your entreaties I will take your life."

The Rakshasi woman, knowing the uselessness of further parley, darted through the air and disappeared. Coming to Simhala's house, she addressed his father Simha, and said, "I am a king's daughter belonging to such and such a country. Simhala took me as his wife, and I have borne him a son. Having collected gems and goods, we were returning to my lord's country when the ship, driven by the winds and the sea, was lost, and only I, my child, and Simhala were saved. After crossing rivers and mountains with great difficulty, hungry and worn out, I said a word displeasing to my husband, and I found myself deserted, and as he left me he let fall bitter words and raged on me as if he were a Rakshasa.¹⁵ If I attempt to return, my native country is a very long distance off; if I stop, then I am left alone in a strange place: staying or returning I am without support. I have, therefore, dared to tell you the true state of things."

Simha said, "If your words be true, you have done right." Then she entered the king's house to dwell there. Not long after Simhala came, and his father addressing him said, "How is it you esteemed riches and gems so much and made so little of your wife and child?" Simhala said, "This is a Rakshasi." Then he related the whole previous history to his father and mother; then his relatives, angry on account of the whole affair, turned on her to drive her away; on which the Rakshasi went to the king and entreated him. The king wished to punish Simhala, but Simhala said, "The delusive influence of Rakshasis is very great."

¹⁵ Or, it may be, "as if I were a Rakshasi," and so Julien translates it. In this case we should supply the symbol *niu* (woman); but I observe that in the previous sentence where Simhala draws his sword he calls her a Rakshasa, not a Rakshasi, so that either translation is correct.

Moreover, the king, regarding his son's words as untrue, and being moved in his mind (*feelings*) by her fascination, addressed Simhala and said, "Since you have decided to reject this woman, I will now protect her in my after-palace." Simhala said, "I fear she will cause you some misfortune, for the Rakshasas eat only flesh and blood."

But the king would not listen to Simhala's words, and accordingly took her as his wife. In the middle of the night following this, flying away, she returned to Ratnadvipa, and calling together 500 Rakshasa demon women, they all came to the king's palace, and there by means of destructive charms and sorceries, they killed all living things within the building and devoured their flesh and drank their blood, whilst they carried off the rest of the corpses and with them returned to the "island of gems."

The next day, early, all the ministers were assembled at the king's gates, which they found fast closed, and not able to be opened. After waiting a long time, and not hearing any sounds of voices within, they burst open the doors and gates, and pressed forward together (*into the house*). Coming to the palace hall, they found no living thing therein but only gnawed bones. The officers looking at one another in astonishment, then bent down their heads in their confusion, and uttered lamentable cries. Being unable to fathom the cause of the calamity that had happened, Simhala related to them from beginning to end the whole story. The ministers and people then saw from whence the evil came.

On this, the ministers of the country, the aged men and different officers, inquired in order as to the best person to appoint to the high dignity (*of the throne*). All looked in the direction of Simhala, (*so conspicuous for*) religious merit and wisdom. Then speaking together, they said, "With respect to a ruler, the selection is no trivial matter; he needs to be devout and wise, and at the same time of quick natural parts. If he be not good and wise, he would not be able to give lustre to the succession; if he have no natural parts (*skill or tact*), how could he direct the affairs of state? Now this Simhala appears to be such a man; he discovered in a dream the origin of the calamity;¹⁶ by the effect of his virtue he encountered the divine horse, and he has loyally warned the king of his danger. By his prudence he has preserved himself; the succession should be his."

The result of the deliberation being known, the people joyfully raised him to the honourable position of king. Simhala was desirous of declining the honour, but was not able to do so. Then keeping to the middle course, he respectfully saluted the

¹⁶ Viz., of the Rakshasis.

different officers of state, and forthwith accepted the kingly estate. On this, he corrected the former abuses, and promoted to honour the good and virtuous; then he made the following decree, "My old merchant friends are in the country of the Rakshasis, but whether alive or dead I cannot tell. But in either case I will set out to rescue them from their danger; we must equip an army. To avert calamities and to help the unfortunate, this is the merit of a kingdom; to preserve treasures of precious stones and jewels, is the advantage of a state."

On this he arrayed his troops and embarked. Then on the top of the iron city the evil flag was agitated.¹⁷

Then the Rakshasis seeing it, were filled with fear, and putting in practice their seducing arts, went forth to lead and cajole them. But the king, thoroughly understanding their false artifices, commanded the soldiers to recite some charmed words and to exhibit their martial bearing. Then the Rakshasis were driven back, and fled precipitately to rocky islets of the sea; others were swallowed up and drowned in the waves. On this they destroyed the iron city and broke down the iron prison; they delivered the captive merchants, obtained large stores of jewels and precious stones, and then summoning the people to change their abodes, he (*Simhala*) founded his capital in the "island of gems," built towns, and so found himself at the head of a kingdom. Because of the king's name the country was called Simhala. This name is also connected with the *Jatakas*, relating to Sakya Tathagata.

The kingdom of Simhala formerly was addicted to immoral religious worship, but after the first hundred years following Buddha's death the younger brother of Asoka-raja, Mahendra by name, giving up worldly desires, sought with ardour the fruit of Arhatship. He gained possession of the six supernatural powers and the eight means of liberation; and having the power of instant locomotion, he came to this country. He spread the knowledge of the true law and widely diffused the bequeathed doctrine. From his time there has fallen on the people a believing heart, and they have constructed 100 convents, containing some 20,000 priests. They principally follow the teaching of Buddha, according to the *dharma* of the Sthavira (Shang-ts'o-pu) school of the Mahayana sect.¹⁸ When 200 years had elapsed,¹⁹

¹⁷ It would seem that "the evil flag" was a signal to warn the Rakshasis of danger.

¹⁸ The Mahayana, or Great Vehicle, is generally supposed to have been unknown in the Southern school; but it is an elastic term, and in the present instance would refer probably to the developed doctrine (in what direction we hardly know) of the old school of the Sthaviras or elders.

¹⁹ That is, as it seems, two hundred years after the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. If so, the period referred to would be about the

through discussion, the one school was divided into two. The former, called the Mahaviharavasinās²⁰ (Mo-ho-pi-ho-lo-chu-pu), was opposed to the Great Vehicle and adhered to the teaching of the Little Vehicle; the other was called Abhayagirivasinās ('Op'o-ye-k'i-li-chu-pd);²¹ they studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the *Tripitakas*. The priests attended to the moral rules, and were distinguished for their power of abstraction and their wisdom.²² Their correct conduct was an example for subsequent ages; their manners grave and imposing.

By the side of the king's palace is the *vihara* of Buddha's tooth, several hundred feet high, brilliant with jewels and ornamented with rare gems. Above the *vihara* is placed an upright pole on which is fixed a great Padma raja (*ruby*) jewel.²³ This gem constantly sheds a brilliant light, which is visible night and day for a long distance, and afar off appears like a bright star. The king three times a day washes the tooth of Buddha with perfumed water,²⁴ sometimes with powdered perfumes. Whether washing or burning, the whole ceremony is attended with a service of the most precious jewels.

[The country of Simhala,²⁵ formerly called the Kingdom of Lions, is also called the Sorrowless Kingdom;²⁶ it is the same as South India. This country is celebrated for its precious gems; it is also called Ratnadvipa. Formerly, when Sakyamuni Buddha took an apparitional body called Simhala, all the people, and

time of the reduction of the three *pitakas* to writing in Ceylon, viz., B.C. 75. Does the phrase just following this, "they widely diffused the *Tripitakas*," refer to this event?

²⁰ This school evidently followed the teaching of the Mahavihara priests. The Mahavihara was about 7 li to the south of the capital Anuradhapura. It was built by Devanampiyatissa, about 250 B.C. (*Fahian*, c. 39). Compare *Dipavamsa* (Oldenberg), xix. 10. Oldenberg makes some remarks respecting the *Atthakatha* preserved in this monastery, *op. cit. Introd.*, pp. 6. 7. See for some notice of the vihara, Beal, *Fa-hian*, p. 159, n. 1.

²¹ For some account of the Abhayagiri vihara see *Dipavamsa*, xix. 14, 17; Beal's *Fa-hian*, p. 151, n. 1. It seems to have been the vihara in which the tooth-relic was exhibited, *Fa-hian*, 157.

²² "Meditative powers" and "wisdom." This would indicate a developed form of belief. It corresponds to the *chi kwan* school of Tientai in China. The same steps which led to the formation of the school there may have marked the development in Ceylon. It represents a compromise between quietism and practice of rules.

²³ For some notice of the rubies of Ceylon, see *Marco Polo*, book iii. cap. xiv.

²⁴ Or, every day thrice washes, &c.

²⁵ This and the following paragraphs are interpolated in the text; they belong to the time of the Ming dynasty (third year of Yung-lo, A.D. 1405). I have translated a portion of the passage, the rest will be found in a note at the end of this Book xi.

²⁶ Or the Asoka kingdom. Compare the Asoka garden of Ravana, in the *Ramayana*.

priests, in honour of his character, made him king,²⁷ and therefore the country was called Simhala. By his mighty spiritual power he destroyed the great iron city and subdued the Rakshasi women, and rescued the miserable and distressed, and then founded a city, and built towns, and converted this district. In order to disseminate the true doctrine, he left a tooth to be kept in this land, firm as a diamond, indestructible through ages. It ever scatters its light like the stars or the moon in the sky, or, as brilliant as the sun, it lights up the night. All those who fast and pray in its presence obtain answers, like the echo (*answers the voice*). If the country is visited by calamity, or famine, or other plague, by use of earnest religious prayer, some spiritual manifestation ever removes the evil. It is now called Si-lan-mount,²⁸ but formerly Simhala country.

By the side of the king's palace is the *vihara* of Buddha's tooth,²⁹ which is decorated with every kind of gem, the splendour of which dazzles the sight like that of the sun. For successive generations worship has been respectfully offered to this relic, but the present king of the country, called A-li-fun-nai-'rh (Alibunar?), a man of So-li (Chola),³⁰ is strongly attached to the religion of the heretics and does not honour the law of Buddha; he is cruel and tyrannical, and opposed to all that is good. The people of the country, however, still cherish the tooth of Buddha.³¹

By the side of the *vihara* of Buddha's tooth is a little *vihara* which is also ornamented with every kind of precious stone. In it is a golden statue of Buddha; it was cast by a former king of the country, and is of the size of life. He afterwards ornamented the head-dress (the *ushnisha*) with a precious gem.

In course of time there was a robber who formed the design to carry off the precious stone, but as it was guarded by a double door and a surrounding balustrade, the chief resolved to tunnel out an entrance underneath the obstacles, and so to enter the *vihara* and take the jewel. Accordingly he did so, but on attempting to seize the gem, the figure gradually raised itself higher, and outreached the grasp of the thief. He, then, finding his efforts of no avail, in departing sighed out thus, "Formerly when Tathagata was practising the life of a Bodhisattva, he

²⁷ To do him honour.

²⁸ Si-lan-shan. *Shan* corresponds to *giri*, the name therefore would be Silangiri, reminding us of the *Sirenum scopuli* of Virgil. *Æn.* v. 864. It is evident that this name was given to Ceylon before the Portuguese arrived in India.

²⁹ This has been already stated in the previous section. For an account of Buddha's tooth and the *vihara*, see Beal's *Fahian*, p. 153, n. 1; *Eastern Monachism*, by Spence Hardy, pp. 224, 226.

³⁰ For Soli see *Marco Polo* (Yule), vol. ii. p. 272. The Cholas had just before this conquered the Pallavas.

³¹ The rest of this passage will be found at the end of this book (xi).

cherished in himself a great heart and vowed that for the sake of the four kinds of living things he would of his compassion give up everything, from his own life down to his country and its towns. But now the statue which stands in his place (*bequeathed*) grudges to give up the precious stone. His words, weighed against this, do not seem to illustrate his ancient conduct." On this the statue lowered its head and let him take the gem. The thief having got it, went to the merchants to sell it; on which they all exclaimed and said, "This is the gem which our former king placed on the head-dress of the golden statue of Buddha. Where have you got it from, that you want to sell it surreptitiously to us?" Then they took him to the king and stated the case. The king then asked him from whom he had procured the gem, on which the thief said, "Buddha himself gave it to me. I am no robber." The king not believing him, ordered a messenger to be sent immediately to ascertain the truth. On arriving he found the head of the statue still bent down. The king seeing the miracle, his heart was affected by a sincere and firm faith. He would not punish the man, but bought the gem again from him, and ornamented with it the head-dress of the statue. Because the head of the figure was thus bent on that occasion, it remains so until now.

By the side of the king's palace there is built a large kitchen, in which daily is measured out food for eight thousand priests. The meal-time having come, the priests arrive with their *patras* to receive their allowance.³² Having received and eaten it, they return, all of them, to their several abodes. Ever since the teaching of Buddha reached this country, the king has established this charity, and his successors have continued it down to our times. But during the last ten years or so the country has been in confusion, and there has been no established ruler to attend to this business.

In a bay on the coast of the country the land is rich in gems and precious stones.³³ The king himself goes (*there*) to perform

³² Fa-hian also alludes to this charitable mode of feeding the priests. p. 155, *op. cit.*

³³ Marco Polo (cap. xvi) alludes to the pearl-fisheries off the west coast of Ceylon. He mentions Bettelar as the place of rendezvous. Colonel Yule thinks that this is Putlam, the Pattala of Ibn Batuta. With reference to the account given by Marco Polo of the fishery, it is curious how, in all its particulars (except that of the charmers) it agrees with the arrangements of the pearl-fishery at La Paz, on the coast of Lower California. I have visited that fishery, and inquired into its management. The merchants fit out the boats and pay the gangs of drivers (*buzos*); the shells are brought up in the same way as described by Marco Polo. The heap each day is divided into three parts—one for the State (*estado*), one for the Church (The Virgin), one for the chief merchant (*armador*), or sometimes, when the divers do not receive pay, they have a proportion of the last heap for themselves. The sharks which abound at La Paz can be seen swimming in the

religious services, on which the spirits present him with rare and valuable objects. The inhabitants of the capital come, seeking to share in the gain, and invoke the spirits for that purpose. What they obtain is different according to their religious merit. They pay a tax on the pearls they find, according to their quantity.

On the south-east corner of the country is Mount Lanka.³⁴ Its high crags and deep valleys are occupied by spirits that come and go ; it was here that Tathagata formerly delivered the *Ling-ki-king* (*Lanka Sutra* or *Lankavatara*).³⁵

Passing seawards to the south of this country some thousands of li, we arrive at the island of Narakira (Na-lo-ki-lo). The people of this island³⁶ are small of stature about three feet high ; their bodies are those of men, but they have the beaks of birds ; they grow no grain, but live only on cocoa-nuts.

Crossing the sea westward from this island several thousands of li, on the eastern cliff of a solitary island is a stone figure of Buddha more than 100 feet high. It is sitting facing the east. In the head-ornament (*ushnisha*) is a stone called *Yueh-ngai-chu*

neighbourhood (so clear is the water under a cloudless and rainless sky), but the divers fear only one kind, which they call the *Tintero* (the tiger shark). They dive just as Marco Polo describes, and I may add that I never found one of them (experts though they were) remain down more than 58 seconds.

³⁴ Lanka is sometimes spoken of as a city, sometimes as a mountain, and at other times applied to the whole island. Moreover, it is sometimes distinguished from Ceylon, and described as on the same meridian as Ujjayini. The mountain is spoken of as three-peaked (*trikuta*) in the *Ramayana*. It was the abode of Ravana.

³⁵ The *Lankavatara Sutra* or the *Saddharma Lankavatara Sutra* belongs to the later development and is of a mystical character. It refers everything to "the heart," which is simply the all-pervading *atman*. There are three translations of the *sutra* in China ; see B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, 175, 176, 177. The title of 176, the "entering-Lanka-sutra," would almost justify us in considering this *sutra* as belonging to Vaishnavism. Bodhidharma, who arrived in China, A.D. 526, from South India, attached his faith to the teaching of this *sutra* ; it was therefore composed before his time. The earliest translation in China (No. 175) dates from A.D. 443, but this is incomplete ; the next (No. 176) dates from A.D. 513 ; the third from A.D. 700. The following quotation from Csoma Korosi is found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 356. "The second treatise or *sutra* in the fifth volume of the *Mdo* is entitled in Sanskrit *Arya Lankavatara mahayana Sutra*, a venerable *sutra* of high principles (or speculation) on the visiting of Lanka. This was delivered at the request of the lord of Lanka by Shakya, when he was in the city of Lanka on the top of the Malaya mountain, on the seashore, together with many priests and Bodhisattvas." It is stated by Hodgson that the *Lankavatara* is regarded in Nepal as the fourth *dharma* ; "it consists of 3000 slokas, and states that Ravana, lord of Lanka having gone to the Malayagiri mountain, there heard the history of the Buddhas from Sakya Sinha, and obtained Bodhyanana" (*ibid*). Lankagiri, then, is probably the same as Mount Potaraka spoken of at the end of the tenth book.

³⁶ Perhaps the Maldiv Islands ; but see Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii. 249. Narikera means *cocoa-nut*.

(Chandrakanta). When the moon begins to wane, water immediately runs down from this in a stream along the sides of the mountain, and along the ravines of the precipices.³⁷

At one time there was a band of merchants who were driven by the winds and waves during a storm, till they reached this solitary island. The sea-water being salt, they were unable to drink it, and were parched with thirst for a long time. But now on the fifteenth day, when the moon was full, from the head of the image water began to trickle forth, and they obtained deliverance. They all thought that a miracle had been wrought, and were affected with a profound faith; they determined then to delay on the island. Some days having elapsed, as soon as the moon began to be hidden behind the high steep, the water did not flow out. Then the merchant-chief said, "It cannot have been specially on our account that the water ran down. I have heard that there is a pearl 'loved by the moon,' when the moon's rays shine full on it, then the water begins to flow from it. The gem on the top of the statue of Buddha must be one of this sort." Then having climbed the mountain to examine the case, they saw that it was a Chandrakanta pearl in the head-ornament of the figure. This is the origin of the story as it was told by those men.

Crossing the sea many thousand li to the west of this country, we come to a large island renowned for its precious stones (or Maharatnadvipa); it is not inhabited, except by spirits. Seen from a distance on a calm night, a light seems to shine from mountains and valleys. Merchants going there are much surprised to find nothing can be procured.

Leaving the country of Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Dravida) and travelling northwards,³⁸ we enter a forest wild, in which are a succession of deserted towns, or rather little villages.³⁹ Brigands, in concert together, wound and capture (or delay) travellers. After going 2000 li or so we come to Kong-kin-na-pu-lo (Konkanapura).⁴⁰

³⁷ Julien translates, "when the moon is about to reflect its light from this jewel (*d'y refléchir sa lumière*);" but the literal rendering is, "when the moon is about to turn back its light," that is, "to wane."

³⁸ Both General Cunningham and Fergusson give the direction north-west. This is a mistake (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 552; *J.R.A.S.*, vi. 266); but Hwui-lih has north-west. He moreover says that the pilgrim returned to the north-west. If we adopt the reading *north*, then the route would be a return one. The origin, as it seems, of the error in direction must be traced to M. V. de St. Martin (*Memoire*, p. 400), who seems to adopt Hwui-lih's text as his guide.

³⁹ The passage may also be translated "passing through (or by) a deserted town and many little villages."

⁴⁰ Hwui-lih gives Kin-na-pu-lo, although in Julien we find Kong-kin-na-pu-lo. It may be an error in the text. In the passage before us the country is Kong-kin-na-pu-lo, which is restored by Julien to Konkanapura. It is stated that this country is in Southern India. There is no agreement as to the site of the capital. V. de St. Martin takes the pilgrim north-

KONG-KIN-NA-PU-LO [KONKINAPURA]

This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital is 3000 li or so round. The land is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated, and produces large crops. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people ardent and quick. Their complexion is black, and their manners fierce and uncultivated. They love learning, and esteem virtue and talent. There are about 100 sangharamas, with some 10,000 priests (*followers*). They study both the Great and the Little Vehicle. They also highly reverence the Devas, and there are several hundred temples in which many sectaries dwell together.

By the side of the royal palace is a great *sangharama* with some 300 priests, who are all men of distinction. This convent has a great *vihara*, a hundred feet and more in height. In it is a precious tiara belonging to Sarvarthasiddha (Yih-tsai-i-sh'ing) the prince. It is somewhat less than two feet in height, and is ornamented with gems and precious stones. It is kept in a jewelled casket. On fast-days it is brought out and placed on a high throne. They offer to it flowers and incense, on which occasions it is lit up with radiance.

By the side of the city is a great *sangharama* in which is a *vihara* about 50 feet high. In this is a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva carved out of sandal-wood. It is about ten feet high. This also on fast-days reflects a bright light. It is the work of the Arhat Wen-'rh-pih-i (Srutavimsatikoti)⁴¹

To the north of the city not far is a forest of *Tala* trees about 30 li round. The leaves (*of this tree*) are long and broad, their colour shining and glistening. In all the countries of India these leaves are everywhere used for writing on. In the forest is a *stupa*. Here the four former Buddhas sat down and walked for exercise, and traces of them still remain. Beside this is a *stupa* containing the bequeathed relics of the Arhat Srutavimsatikoti.

Not far to the east of the city is a *stupa* which has sunk down into the ground from its foundations, but is still about thirty feet high. The old tradition says, in this *stupa* is a relic of Tathagata, and on religious days (*holy days*) it exhibits a miraculous light. In old days, when Tathagata was in the world,

west to Vanavasi (*Memoire*, p. 401). General Cunningham thinks that Anagundi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra river is the place indicated (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 552), whilst Fergusson would take the pilgrim from Nagapattan to the centre of the Maisur plateau somewhere east of Bednore (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 267). Assuming, however, that his route was north, and that he was returning towards the neighbourhood of Chanda, we should have to look for the capital of Kong-kin-na near Golkonda.

⁴¹ For some reference to this person see Book X, n. 3. It seems likely that the allusion in the text is to Sona Kutikanna, as he was a disciple of Katyayana, who dwelt in Southern India (*S.B.E.*, xvii. p. 32).

he preached in this place, and exhibited his miraculous powers and converted a multitude of men.

Not far to the south-west of the city is a *stupa* about a hundred feet high, which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Here the Arhat Srutavimsatikoti exhibited great miraculous powers and converted a great many people. By the side of it is a *sangharama*, of which only the foundations remain. This was built by the fore-named Arhat.

From this going north-west, we enter a great forest wild, where savage beasts and bands of robbers inflict injury on travellers. Going thus 2,400 or 2,500 li, we come to the country of Mo-ho-la-ch'a (Maharashtra).⁴²

MO-HO-LA-CH'A (MAHARASHTRA)

This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital⁴³ borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 li round. The soil is rich and fertile ; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot ; the disposition of the people is honest and simple ; they are tall of stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful ; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning ; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (*spears*). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man down (*a person who submits*). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and, taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward

⁴² "The great kingdom" ; the country of the Marathas

⁴³ There have been various surmises as to the name of this capital. M. V. de St. Martin names Devagiri or Daulatabad, but this is not on a river. General Cunningham thinks Kalyan or Kalyani is the place intended, to the west of which flows the Kailasa river ; but this is due south of Bharoch (the next station) instead of east. Fergusson names Toka, Phulthamba, or Paitan. However, the distance and direction from the capital of Konkanapura is about 400 miles N. W. This seems to bring us near the river Tapti, or perhaps the Ghirna river.

in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them.

The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshattriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time, Siladitya⁴⁴ Maharaja has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops.

So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning, and study both heretical and orthodox (*books*). There are about 100 *sangharamas*, with 5000 or so priests. They practise both the Great and Small Vehicle. There are about 100 Deva temples, in which very many heretics of different persuasions dwell.

Within and without the capital are five *stupas* to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by Asoka-*raja*. There are, besides these, other *stupas* made of brick or stone, so many that it would be difficult to name them all.

Not far to the south of the city is a *sangharama* in which is a stone image of Kwan-taz'-tsai Bodhisattva. Its spiritual powers extend (*far and wide*), so that many of those who have secretly prayed to it have obtained their wishes.

On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled-up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *sangharama* constructed, in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (*or* open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley (*watercourse*).⁴⁵

This convent was built by the Arhat Achara (O-che-lo).⁴⁶ This Arhat was a man of Western India. His mother having

⁴⁴ That is, Siladitya of Kanauj. (see p. 236 n. 18).

⁴⁵ This must refer to the famous Baudha rock-temples at Ajanta, in the Indhyadri range of hills, cut in the lofty and almost perpendicular rocks that hem in a wild secluded glen. See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pp. 280-347; *Arch. Sur. West Ind. Reports*, vol. iv. pp. 43-59.

⁴⁶ In the inscription on the Chaitya cave, No. xxvi, at Ajanta, we read that "The ascetic Sthavira Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain dwelling (*sailagriha*) for the Teacher, though his desires were fulfilled" (*Arch. Sur. West Ind. Reports*, vol. iv. p. 135). This apparently decides the name of the Arhat mentioned here. But as the Chinese translation of the name is *So hing* (he who does, or, the doer), we retain the equivalent Achara.

died, he looked to see in what condition she was re-born. He saw that she had received a woman's body in this kingdom. The Arhat accordingly came here with a view to convert her, according to her capabilities of receiving the truth. Having entered a village to beg food, he came to the house where his mother had been born. A young girl came forth with food to give him. At this moment the milk came from her breasts and trickled down. Her friends having seen this considered it an unlucky sign, but the Arhat recounted the history of her birth. The girl thus attained the holy fruit (*of Arhatship*). The Arhat, moved with gratitude⁴⁷ for her who had borne and cherished him, and remembering the end of such (*good*) works, from a desire to requite her, built this *sangharama*. The great *vihara* of the convent is about 100 feet or so in height; in the middle is a stone figure of Buddha about 70 feet or so high. Above it is a stone canopy of seven stages, towering upwards apparently without support. The space between each canopy⁴⁸ is about three feet. According to the old report, this is held in its place by the force of the vow of the Arhat. They also say it is by the force of his miraculous powers; others say by the virtue of some magical compound; but no trustworthy account has yet explained the reason of the wonder. On the four sides of the *vihara*, on the stone walls, are painted⁴⁹ different scenes in the life of Tathagata's preparatory life as a Bodhisattva: the wondrous signs of good fortune which attended his acquirement of the holy fruit (*of a Buddha*), and the spiritual manifestations accompanying his *Nirvana*. These scenes have been cut out with the greatest accuracy and fineness.⁵⁰ On the outside of the gate of the *sangharama*, on the north and south side, at the right hand and the left, there is a stone elephant.⁵¹ The common report says that sometimes these elephants utter a great cry and the earth shakes throughout. In old days Jina (*or* Channa) Bodhisattva⁵² often stopped in this *sangharama*.

⁴⁷ Compare the words of the inscription given in the preceding note, "who glorified the faith and was grateful."

⁴⁸ See the drawings of Cave xix, and of the dagaba in it, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (*Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. iv., pl. xxx, xxxi; *Cave Temples*, pl. xxxvi, xxxvii. The measurements given "by report" are vastly exaggerated, as such matters very often are in India. But possibly there may have been a structural building against the face of the rock, with a dagaba of larger dimensions, though by no means of the size indicated in the text. It is more probable, however, that the report is only an exaggerated account of the rock-cut chaityas. Hiuen Tsiang does not appear to have visited them personally.

⁴⁹ In mosaic, "carved and inlaid" (*teou low*).

⁵⁰ This must refer to the famous Ajanta frescoes.

⁵¹ This seems to refer to two elephants in *alto relievo* that were sculptured on the rock in front of Cave xv., but which are now scarcely recognisable. See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples* p. 306.

⁵² *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx. p. 208

Going from this 1000 li or so to the west,⁵³ and crossing the Nai-mo-to (Narmada) river, we arrive at the kingdom of Po-lu-kie-che-po (Bharukachheva ; Barygaza or Bharoch).⁵⁴

PO-LU-KIE-CH'E-P'O (BHARUKACHHA)

This kingdom is 2,400 or 2,500 li in circuit. Its capital is 2½ li round. The soil is impregnated with salt. Trees and shrubs are scarce and scattered. They boil the sea-water to get the salt, and their sole profit is from the sea. The climate is warm. The air is always agitated with gusts of wind. Their ways are cold and indifferent ; the disposition of the people crooked and perverse. They do not cultivate study, and are wedded to error and true doctrine alike. There are some ten *sangharamas*, with about 300 believers. They adhere to the Great Vehicle and the Sthavira school. There are also about ten Deva temples, in which sectaries of various kinds congregate.

Going from this⁵⁵ north-west about 2000 li, we come to the country of Mo-la-po (Malava).⁵⁶

MO-LA-P'O (MALAVA)

This country is about 6000 li in circuit. The capital is some 30 li round. It is defended (*or* supported) by the Mahi river on the south and east.⁵⁷ The soil is rich and fertile, and produces

⁵³ Hwui-lih gives north-west. M. Julien has translated it north-east, by mistake (*Vie*, &c., p. 203).

⁵⁴ Bharoch appears in a Pali inscription at Junnar (*Arch. Sur. West. Ind. Rep.*, vol. iv. p. 96) under the form Bharukachha ; in Sanskrit it is Bharukachchha (*Brih. Samh.*, v. 40, xiv. 11, xvi. 6 ; Vassilief, p. 45) and Bhṛigukachcha (*Bhag. Pur.*, viii. 18, 21 ; *As. Res.*, vol. ix. p. 104 ; inscrip. in *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 33) or Bhṛigukshetra—from the locality being the traditional residence of the sage Bhṛigurishi. The Bhargava Brahmins of Bharoch are the representatives of an early colony of the school of Bhṛigu. Bharukachha is represented by the Greek *Barugaza emporion* of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 62) and of the author of the *Periplus Mar. Eryth.* (s. 42, &c.) ; Strabo (lib. xv. c. 1, 73) has *Bargose*. See Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i. pp. 113, 136. It was from Bharoch the Sramana came who burnt himself at Athens.

⁵⁵ The geography of this part of the pilgrim's route is involved in obscurities. I can only therefore offer some remarks on the text. In Hwui-lih the symbol used is *chi*, not *hing*, from which it might have been gathered that Hiuen Tsiang did not himself visit this country, or at least on this occasion. But in the text the symbol *hing* is used, so that no weight can be given to this supposition.

⁵⁶ If this country be Malava, it lies north-east from Bharoch. But, on the other hand, it does not follow that the route was a direct one. The pilgrim and his companions from Ceylon may have travelled east towards the head waters of the Mahi river, and then north-west. It is said in a note to be the same as the southern *Lo-lo* (Lara) country.

⁵⁷ The symbol *ku* implies that the capital was "held by" (either defended or supported by) the Mahi river on the south-east, or on the south and east. This would seem to take us to the neighbourhood of Dongarpur (*Elphinstone's map*). Cunningham considers Dharanagara to be intended, in which V. de St. Martin agrees.

abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruits are met with in great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter wheat. They mostly eat biscuits and (*or*, made of) parched corn-flour. The disposition of the men is virtuous and docile, and they are in general of remarkable intelligence. Their language is elegant and clear, and their learning is wide and profound.

Two countries in India, on the borders, are remarkable for the great learning of the people, viz., Malava on the south-west, and Magadha on the north-east. In this they esteem virtue and respect politeness (*humanity*). They are of an intelligent mind and exceedingly studious; nevertheless the men of this country are given to heretical belief as well as the true faith, and so live together. There are about 100 *sangharamas* in which some 2000 priests dwell.⁵⁸ They study the Little Vehicle, and belong to the Sammatiya school. There are 100 Deva temples of different kinds. The heretics are very numerous, but principally the Pasupatas (*the cinder-covering heretics*).

The records of the country state: Sixty years before this⁵⁹ flourished Siladitya, a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound. He cherished and protected the four kinds of creatures,⁶⁰ and deeply respected the three treasures.⁶¹ From the time of his birth to his last hour, his face never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. His elephants and horses drank water that had been strained, after which he gave it them, lest any creature living in the water should be injured. Such were his love and humanity. During the fifty years and more of his reign, the wild beasts became familiar with men, and the people did not injure or slay them. By the side of his palace he built a *vihara*. He exhausted the skill of the artists, and used every kind of ornament in decorating it. In it he put images of the seven Buddhas,⁶² Lords of the World. Every year he convoked an assembly called *Moksha mahaparishad*, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them "the four things" in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and also bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety. This

⁵⁸ This can hardly refer to Ujjain, therefore, because we are told subsequently that the convents there were in ruins, and only about 300 priests in them. It is curious, however, that the circuit of this capital, thirty li (Julien has *twenty li*, by mistake), and that of Ujjain are the same.

⁵⁹ See *ante*, book ii, note 91.

⁶⁰ Viviparous, oviparous, born from spawn, or by transformation (*fa*) [*water-insects*, and so on].

⁶¹ Buddha, dharma, sangha.

⁶² For the seven Buddhas consult Eitel, *Handbook*, s. v. *Sapta Buddha*.

meritorious custom has continued in practice without interruption till now.

To the north-west of the capital about 200 li, we come to the town of the Brahmins.⁶³ By the side of it is a hollow ditch; into this the winter and summer streams flow continually, but though through decades of days the water runs into the hollow, yet it never seems to increase in quantity. By the side of it again is a little *stupa*. The old traditions of the country say: Formerly a Brahman of an exceedingly haughty mind⁶⁴ fell alive into this pit and went down to hell. In old days there was a Brahman born in this town, who was acquainted with all things, and of learning beyond all the eminent men of his time. He had penetrated the secrets and dark sayings of books sacred and profane. He was acquainted with the calculations of astronomy as if they were in his hand; his fame was widespread and his behaviour without blemish. The king very highly esteemed him, and the people of the country made much of him. He had some 1000 disciples, who appreciated his doctrine and respected his character. He constantly said of himself, "I am come into the world for the purpose of publishing abroad the holy doctrine and to guide the people. Among the former sages, or those who have arrived at wisdom after them, there is none to compare with me. Mahesvaradeva, Vasudeva, Narayanadeva, Buddha-lokannatha, men everywhere worship these, and publish 'abroad their doctrine, represent them in their effigies, and pay them worship and honour. But now I am greater than they in character, and my fame exceeds that of all living. Why should they then be so notorious, for they have done no wonderful thing."

Accordingly, he made out of red sandal-wood figures of Mahesvaradeva, Vasudeva, Narayanadeva, Buddha-lokannatha, and placed them as feet to his chair, and wherever he went as a rule he took this chair with him, showing his pride and self-conceit.

Now at this time there was in Western India a Bhikshu, Bhadraruchi (Po-to-lo-liu-chi) by name; he had thoroughly exhausted the *Hetuvīdyā* (*Sāstra*) and deeply investigated the sense of different discourses (*treatises*).⁶⁵ He was of excellent repute, and the perfume of his exceeding goodness (*morality*) spread in every direction. He had few desires and was contented with his lot, seeking nothing in the world. Hearing (*of the Brahman*) he sighed and said, "Alas! how sad. This age (*time*) has no (*one worthy to be called a*) man; and so it permits that foolish master to dare to act as he does in defiance of virtue."

⁶³ This may be Brahmanapura; there is a city of the Brahmins named by Arrian (*Exped. Alex.*, vi. 7) and by Diodorus called by him Harmatelia (vii. 465). See also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 267, 268. But the town named in the text cannot be near Harmatelia.

⁶⁴ Or it may be a proper name, "the great-proud Brahman."

⁶⁵ Or, it may possibly be, "different systems."

On this, he took his staff, and travelling afar, he came to this country. Whilst dwelling therein his mind was made up and he acquainted the king with it. The king, seeing his dirty clothes, conceived no reverence for him ; but, in consideration of his high purpose, he forced himself to give him honour (*to treat him with respect*), and so he arranged the chair of discussion and called the Brahman. The Brahman hearing it smiled and said, "What man is this who has dared to conceive such an idea (*to cherish this determination*)."

His disciples having come together, and many (*hundred*) thousands of listeners being arranged before and behind the discussion-arena to attend as hearers, then Bhadraruchi, with his ancient robes and tattered clothes, arranging some grass on the ground, sat down. Then the Brahman, sitting on his chair which he carried with him, began to revile the true law and to praise the teaching of the heretical schools.

The Bhikshu, with a clear distinction, like the running of water, encircled his arguments in order. Then the Brahman after a while yielded, and confessed himself conquered.

The king replying said, "For a long time you have assumed a false reputation ; you have deceived the sovereign and affected the multitude with delusion. Our old rescripts say, 'He who is defeated in discussion ought to suffer death'." Then he prepared to have a heated plate of iron to make him sit thereon ; the Brahman thereupon, overpowered by fear, fell down to entreat pardon (*deliverance*).

Then Bhadraruchi, pitying the Brahman, came and requested the king, saying, "Maharaja ! your virtue extends far and wide ; the sound of your praises resounds through the public ways. Then let your goodness extend even to protect this man : give not way to a cruel design. Pass over his want of success and let him go his way." Then the king ordered him to be placed on an ass and to be proclaimed through all the towns and villages (*as an impostor*).

The Brahman, nettled by his defeat, was so affected that he vomited blood. The Bhikshu having heard of it, went to condole with him, and said, "Your learning embraces subjects religious and profane ; your renown is spread through all parts ; in questions of distinction, or the contrary, success or defeat must be borne ; but after all, what is there of reality in fame ?" The Brahman, filled with rage, roundly abused the Bhikshu, calumniated the system of the Great Vehicle, and treated with contumely the holy ones who had gone before ; but the sound of his words had scarcely been lost before the earth opened and swallowed him up alive ; and this is the origin of the traces still left in the ditch.

Going south-west we come to a bay of the sea,⁶⁶ then going 2400 or 2500 li north-west we come to the kingdom of 'O-ch'a-li (Atali).

'O-CH'A-LI [ATALI]⁶⁷

This country is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital of the country is about 20 li or so in circuit. The population is dense; the quality of gems and precious substances stored up is very great; the produce of the land is sufficient for all purposes, yet commerce is their principal occupation. The soil is salt and sandy, the fruits and flowers are not plentiful. The country produces the *hu-tsian* tree. The leaves of this tree are like those of the Sz'chuen pepper (*Shuh tsiau*); it also produces the *hiun-lu* perfume tree, the leaf of which is like the *thang-li*.⁶⁸ The climate is warm, windy, and dusty. The disposition of the people is cold and indifferent. They esteem riches and despise virtue. Respecting their letters, language, and the manners and figures of the people, these are much the same as in the country of Malava. The greater part of the people have no faith in the virtue of religious merit; as to those who do believe, they worship principally the spirits of heaven, and their temples are some thousand in number, in which sectaries of different characters congregate.

Going north-west from the country of Malava; after passing over 300 li⁶⁹ or so, we come to the country of K'ie-ch'a (Kachha).

K'IE-CH'A [KACHHA]⁷⁰

This country is 3000 li or so in circuit, the capital about 20 li. The population is dense. The establishments wealthy. There is

⁶⁶ Literally, the passage runs, "From this, south-west, we enter a sea-blending, or a confluence of two seas." I have translated it "bay," because it is sometimes used so; it probably refers to the gulf of Kachh. Hwui-lih does not mention this gulf, but takes us away from the "city of the Brahmans" the same distance as in the text to O'-ch'a-li.

⁶⁷ 'O-ch'a-li appears to be far north of Kachh. May it not have been Uchh or Bahwalpur? There is a town called Atari in the neighbourhood of Multan (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 228); but it is difficult to know what could have taken the pilgrim there. This place is identified by Cunningham with the city of the Brahmans, taken by Alexander the Great (*l. c.*).

⁶⁸ Can this be the *salai* from which *Kimdura*, Gujarati *Kindru* or *Salainodhupa*, Indian gum, olibanum, is obtained? This tree (*Boswellia thurifera*, *serrata* and *glabra*) is found in Oudh, Khandes, and Kathiawad. *Guggula* (bdellium), the gum resin of *Balsamodendron roxburghii*, *pubesens*, and *mukul*, is also produced in Kachh and Sindh.

⁶⁹ In Hwui-lih, the distance is "three days" journey.

⁷⁰ The distance is to be reckoned from the kingdom or country of Malava, but the place is not named. General Cunningham proposes to read 1300 li from Dhar to Kheda; this last place is a large town of Gujarat, situated between Ahmedabad and Khambay, and would be in its Sanskrit form the same as Kheda, which again is the equivalent

no king (*great ruler*) amongst them; the country is an appanage of Malava, and the climate, products of the soil, and manners of the people are very similar in both countries. There are some ten *sangharamas*, with about 1000 priests, who study alike the Great and the Little Vehicle. There are also several tens of Deva temples with very many unbelievers (*sectaries*).

From this going north⁷¹ 1000 li or so, we come to Fa-la-pi (Valabhi).

FA-LA-PI [VALABHI]

This country is 6000 li or so in circuit, the capital about 30. The character of the soil, the climate, and manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Malava. The population is very dense; the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses (*families*) or so, who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities. There are some hundred *sangharamas*, with about 6000 priests. Most of them study the Little Vehicle,⁷² according to the Sammatiya school. There are several hundred Deva temples with very many sectaries of different sorts.

When Tathagata lived in the world, he often travelled through this country. Hence Asoka-*raja* raised monuments or built *stupas* in all those places where Buddha rested. Scattered among these are spots where the three past Buddhas sat down, or walked, or preached the law. The present king is of the Kshattriya caste, as they all are. He is the nephew of Siladitya-*raja* of Malava, and son-in-law of the son of Siladitya, the present king of Kanyakubja. His name is Dhruvapata (T'u-lu-

of the Chinese Kie-ch'a. But Kie-ch'a, although it might be correctly restored to Kheda, is the name of a country. The distance, also, being "three days," in Hwui-lih, seems to confirm the 300 li in the text. We must therefore retain the restoration of Kachha.

⁷¹ Although we should expect the direction to be south from Kachha, the reading is north, both in the text and in Hwui-lih; wherever the Valabhi of Hiuen Tsiang was situated, it is said to have been "the kingdom of the Northern Lara (Lo-lo) people." (Note in the Chinese text).

⁷² In a copper-plate deed of Guhasena of Valabhi, he says, "In order to obtain for my parents and for myself benefits in this life and the next, I have granted, by libation of water, to the community of the reverend Sakya Bhikshus belonging to the eighteen schools (*nikaya*) who have come from various directions to the great convent (*Mahavihara*) of Dudda." *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 175. This Dudda was the daughter of Dhruvasena I's sister (*ib.* p. 106), and so a grand-daughter of Bhataraka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty. In another copper-plate of Guhasena, he makes a grant to "the foreign monks belonging to the eighteen schools, and living in the Abhyantarika vihara built by the venerable Mimma, and situated close to the monastery of Bhataraka, presented to the Rajasthaniya Sura." *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v. p. 206; conf. Vassilief *Le Bouddh.*, p. 63. *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Reports*, vol. iii. p. 94. The "eighteen schools" here mentioned point to the Hinayana doctrine.

h'o-po-tu).⁷³ He is of a lively and hasty disposition, his wisdom and statecraft are shallow. Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three "precious ones." Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price. He esteems virtue (*or the virtuous*) and honours the good; he reverences those who are noted for their wisdom.⁷⁴ The great priests who come from distant regions he particularly honours and respects.

Not far from the city is a great *sangharama* which was built by the Arhat Achara ('O-che-lo);⁷⁵ here the Bodhisattvas Gunamati and Sthiramati⁷⁶ (Kien-hwui) fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown.

From this going north-west 700 li or so, we come to 'O-nan-to-pu-lo (Anandapura).

'O-NAN-TO-PU-LO [ANANDAPURA]

This country is about 2000 li in circuit, the capital about 20. The population is dense; the establishments rich. There is no chief ruler, but it is an appanage of Malava.⁷⁷ The produce, climate, and literature and laws are the same as those of Malava. There are some ten *sangharamas* with less than 1000 priests; they study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya school. There are

⁷³ Dr. Buhler argues that this king was the same as Siladitya VI., surnamed Dhruvabhata, (which he supposes to stand for Dhruvabhata, "the constant warrior"), of whom we have a grant dated "Sam. 447" (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. p. 80). General Cunningham adopts the same view (*A. S. Reports*, vol. ix. pp. 16, 18); but Burgess is disposed to regard this king as the Dhruvasena II. of a Valabhi grant dated "Sam. 310" (*Arch. Sur. W. Ind.*, vol. ii. pp. 82, ff.); and Oldenberg, as possibly Dherabhata, the cousin of Dhruvasena II. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. x. p. 219).

⁷⁴ Or, he reverences religion and makes much of wisdom.

⁷⁵ This is confirmed by a grant of Dharasena II. of Valabhi, in which the Sanskrit name of the founder is given as Atharya (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 164 n.; vol. vi. p. 9). Julien has Achara; the Chinese translation *so-hing* requires this restoration.

⁷⁶ Sthiramati Sthavira was one of the famous disciples of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, who wrote commentaries on all the works of his master. He is named in a grant of Dharasena I. as the Acharyya Bhadanta Sthiramati, who founded the *vihara* of Sri Bappapada at Valabhi (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. p. 9; Vassilief, p. 78; M. Muller's *India*, p. 305; B. Nanjio's *Cat. Budd. Trip.*, c. 372). Gunamati was also a disciple of Vasubandhu. He had a famous disciple, Vasumitra (Phoshu-mi), who wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakoshai* (Bunyu Nanjio's *Cat. Bud. Trip.*, cc. 375, 377; M. Muller, *India*, pp. 305, 309, 310, 632; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 505; Vassilief, p. 78).

⁷⁷ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii; *Ar. Sur. W. Ind.*, vol. ii. p. 83.

several tens of Deva temples, and sectaries of different kinds frequent them.

Going west from Valabhi 500 li or so, we come to the country of Su-la-ch'a (Surashtra).

SU-LA-CHA [SURASHTRA]⁷⁸

This country is 4000 li or so in circuit, the capital about 30 li. On the west the chief town borders on the Mahi river; the population is dense, and the various establishments (*families*) are rich. The country is dependent on Valabhi. The soil is impregnated with salt; flowers and fruit are rare. Although the climate is equable, yet there is no cessation of tempests. The manners of the people are careless and indifferent; their disposition light and frivolous. They do not love learning and are attached both to the true faith and also to heretical doctrine. There are some fifty *sangharamas* in this kingdom, with about 3000 priests; they mostly belong to the Sthavira school of the Great Vehicle. There are a hundred or so Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of various sorts. As this country is on the western sea route, the men all derive their livelihood from the sea and engage in commerce and exchange of commodities.

Not far from the city is a mountain called Yuh-chen-to (*Ujjanta*),⁷⁹ on the top of which is a *sangharama*. The cells and galleries have mostly been excavated from the mountain-side. The mountain is covered with thick jungle and forest trees, whilst streams flow round its limits. Here saints and sages roam and rest, and Rishis endued with spiritual faculties congregate here and stay.

Going north from the country of Valabhi 1800 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo (Gurjjara).

KIU-CHE-LO [GURJJARA]

This country⁸⁰ is 5000 li or so in circuit, the capital, which is

⁷⁸ Surashtra, or Suratha, or Sorath. As this district is in the Gujarat peninsula, it is difficult to understand how its chief town "on the west" borders on the Mahi river; perhaps it should be "on the east." But this part of the pilgrim's narrative seems to be carelessly written. Perhaps, as Fergusson supposes, the original documents had been lost in crossing the Indus at Attok (see Book xii), and the details supplied from memory or notes. For remarks on localities see V. de St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 405; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 325.

⁷⁹ The old Prakrit name of Girnara, close to Junagadh in Kathiawad; the Sanskrit form is Ujjayanta (*Mahabh.*, iii. 8347 ff.) Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 686 n.) misplaces it at or near Ajanta. It is sacred to Neminatha, the twenty-second Jina, and Urjayata (Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 212; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. ii. p. 129), and is also called Raivata.

⁸⁰ Late R. G. Bhandarkar suggests that Kukura, a district mentioned in an inscription of Pulumayi at Nasik, and in the Rudradaman inscription at Girnara, might be Kiu-che-lo, but the Chinese syllables are

called Pi-lo-mo-lo,⁸¹ is 30 li or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Surashtra. The population is dense; the establishments are rich and well supplied with materials (*wealth*). They mostly are unbelievers; a few are attached to the law of Buddha. There is one *sungharama*, with about a hundred priests; they are attached to the teaching of the Little Vehicle and the school of the Sarvastivadas. There are several tens of Deva temples, in which sectaries of various denominations dwell. The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old; he is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha; and highly honours men of distinguished ability.

From this going south-east 2800 li or so, we come to the country of U-she-yen-na (Ujjayani).

U-SHE-YEN-NA [UJJAYANI]

This country⁸² is about 6000 li in circuit; the capital is some 30 li round. The produce and manners of the people are like those of the country of Surashtra. The population is dense and the establishments wealthy. There are several tens of convents, but they are mostly in ruins; some three or five are preserved. There are some 300 priests; they study the doctrines both of the Great and the Little Vehicle. There are several tens of Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of various kinds. The king belongs to the Brahman caste. He is well versed in heretical books, and believes not in the true law.

Not far from the city is a *stupa*; this is the place where Asoka-rajā made the hell (*of punishment*).

Going north-east from this 1000 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Chi-ki-to.

CHI-KI-TO

This country is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital is some 15 or 16 li round. The soil is celebrated for its fertility; it is regularly cultivated and yields abundant crops; it is specially adapted for beans and barley; it produces abundance of flowers and fruits. The climate is temperate; the people are naturally

against such an identification (*Trans. Int. Cong. Orient.* 1874, p. 312; *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. iv. p. 109, and vol. ii. pp. 129, 131. Gurjara is certainly the proper representative, and the district as well as the language extended into the southern parts of modern Rajputana and Malwa. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 136; Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 31 n.; *Rajatarang.*, v. 144 ff.

⁸¹ Balmer in Rajputana (lat. 25° 48' N., long. 71° 16' E.) From this neighbourhood several of the clans in Kathiawad say they originally came.

⁸² Ujjayani or Ujjayini is properly the capital of Avanti in Malava, the capital of Tiastanes (Chashtana), the *Ozene* of Ptolemy lib. vii. c. i. 63) and the *Peripl. Mar. Æryth.* (c. xlviii) Bohlen, *Alte Ind.*, vol. i. p. 94.

virtuous and docile ; most of them believe in heretical doctrine, a few honour the law of Buddha. There are several tens of sangharamas with few priests. There are about ten Deva temples, which some thousand followers frequent. The king is of the Brahman caste. He firmly believes in the (three) precious ones ; he honours and rewards those who are distinguished for virtue. Very many learned men from distant countries congregate in this place.

Going from here north 900 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Mo-hi-shi-fa-lo-pu-lo (Mahesvarapura).

MO-HI-SHI-FA-LO-PU-LO [MAHESVARAPURA]

This kingdom is about 3000 li in circuit ; the capital city is some 30 li in round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Ujjayani. They greatly esteem the heretics and do not reverence the law of Buddha. There are several tens of Deva temples, and the sectaries principally belong to the Pasupatas. The king is of the Brahman caste ; he places but little faith in the doctrine of Buddha.

From this, going in a backward direction to the country of Kiu-che-lo (Gurjjara) and then proceeding northward through wild deserts and dangerous defiles about 1900 li, crossing the great river Sin-tu, we come to the kingdom of Sin-tu (Sindh).

SIN-TU [SINDH]

This country is about 7000 li in circuit ; the capital city, called P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo,⁸³ is about 30 li round. The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals and produces abundance of wheat and millet. It also abounds in gold and silver and native copper. It is suitable for the breeding of oxen, sheep camels, mules, and other kinds of beasts. The camels are small in size and have only one hump. They find here a great quantity of salt, which is red like cinnabar ; also white salt, black salt and rock salt. In different places, both far and near, this salt is used for medicine. The disposition of the men is hard and impulsive ; but they are honest and upright. They quarrel and are much given to contradiction. They study without aiming to excel ; they have faith in the law of Buddha. There are several hundred *sangharamas*, occupied by about 10,000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. As a rule, they are indolent and given to indulgence and debauchery. Those who are very earnest as followers of the virtue of the sages live alone in desert places, dwelling far off in the mountains and the forests. There night and day they exert themselves in aiming after the acquire-

⁸³ Vichavapura—Julien. Reinand suggests Vasmapura or Balmapura and Minagara. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii. p. 336 f.

nient of the holy fruit (*of Arhatship*). There are about thirty Deva temples. in which sectaries of various kinds congregate.

The king is of the Sudra (Shu-t'o-lo) caste. He is by nature honest and sincere, and he reverences the law of Buddha.

When Tathagata was in the world, he frequently passed through this country, therefore Asoka-*raja* has founded several tens of *stupas* in places where the sacred traces of his presence were found. Upagupta,⁸⁴ the great Arhat, sojourned very frequently in this kingdom, explaining the law and convincing and guiding men. The places where he stopped and the traces he left are all commemorated by the building of *sangharamas* or the erection of *stupas*. These buildings are seen everywhere ; we can only speak of them briefly.

By the side of the river Sindh, along the flat marshy lowlands for some thousand li, there are several hundreds of thousands (*a very great many*) of families settled. They are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and are given to bloodshed only. They give themselves exclusively to tending cattle, and from this derive their livelihood. They have no masters, and, whether men or women, have neither rich nor poor ; they shave their heads and wear the *Kashaya* robes of Bhikshus, whom they resemble outwardly, whilst they engage themselves in the ordinery affairs of lay life. They hold to their narrow (*little*) views and attack the Great Vehicle.

The old reports state that formerly these people were extremely hasty (*impatient*), and only practised violence and cruelty. At this time there was an Arhat, who, pitying their perversity, and desiring to convert them, mounted in the air and came amongst them. He exhibited his miraculous powers and displayed his wonderful capabilities. Thus he led the people to believe and accept the doctrine, and gradually he taught them in words ; all of them joyfully accepted his teaching and respectfully prayed him to direct them in their religious life. The Arhat perceiving that the hearts of the people had become submissive, delivered to them the three "Refuges" and restrained their cruel tendencies ; they entirely gave up "taking life," they shaved their heads, and assumed the soiled robes of a Bhiskhu, and obediently walked according to the doctrine of religion. Since then, generations have passed by and the changed times have weakened their virtue, but as for the rest, they retain their old customs. But though they wear the robes of religion, they live without any moral rules, and their sons and grandsons continue to live as worldly people, without any regard to their religious profession.

Going from this eastward 900 li or so, crossing the Sindh river and proceeding along the eastern bank, we come to the kingdom of Mu-lo-san-p'u-lu.

⁸⁴ Bk. viii ; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 118, 197, 378 f.

MU-LO-SAN-P'U-LU [MULASTHANAPURA]

This country⁸⁵ is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital town is some 30 li round. It is thickly populated. The establishments are wealthy. This country is in dependence on the kingdom of Cheka (Tse-kia). The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is soft and agreeable; the manners of the people are simple and honest; they love learning and honour the virtuous. The greater part sacrifice to the spirits; few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten *sangharamas*, mostly in ruins; there are a few priests, who study indeed, but without any wish to excel. There are eight Deva temples, in which sectaries of various classes dwell. There is a temple dedicated to the sun,⁸⁶ very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (*to this Deva*). They have founded a house of mercy (*happiness*), in which they provide food, and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so. On the four sides of the temple are tanks with flowering groves where one can wander about without restraint.

From this going north-east 700 li or so, we come to the country of Po-fa-to.

PO-FA-TO [PARVATA]⁸⁷

This country is 5000 li or so in circuit, its capital is about 20 li. It is thickly populated, and depends on the country of Cheka (Tse-kia). A great deal of dry-ground rice is here grown. The soil is also fit for beans and wheat. The climate is temperate, the disposition of the people honest and upright. They are naturally quick and hasty; their language is low and common. They are well versed in composition and literature. There are heretics and believers in common. There are some ten *sangharamas* with about 1000 priests; they study both the Great and Little Vehicle. There are four *stupas* built by Asoka-raja. There are also some twenty Deva temples frequented by sectaries of different sorts.

By the side of the chief town is a great *sangharama* with

⁸⁵ Mulasthanapur or Multan (see Reinaud, *Mem. s. l. Inde*, p. 98)

⁸⁶ Aditya or Surya.

⁸⁷ Parvata is given by Panini (iv. 2, 143) as the name of a country in the Panjab under the group Takshasiladi (iv. 3, 93). *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 22.

about 100 priests in it; they study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. It was here that Jinaputra, a master of *sastras*,⁸⁸ composed the *Yogacharyabhumi Sastrakarika*; here also Bhadraruchi and Gunaprabha, masters of *sastras*, embraced the religious life. This great *sangharama* has been destroyed by fire, and is now waste and ruined.

Leaving the Sindh country, and going south-west 1500 or 1600 li, we come to the kingdom of 'O-tin-p'o-chi-lo (Atyanabakela).

'O-TIEN-P'O-CHI-LO

This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The chief town is called Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo, and is about 30 li round. It lies on the river Sindh, and borders on the ocean. The houses are richly ornamented, and mostly possess rare and costly substances. Lately there has been no ruler; it is under the protection of Sindh. The soil is low and damp and the ground is impregnated with salt. It is covered with wild shrubs, and is mostly waste land: it is little cultivated, yet it produces some sorts of grain, but principally beans and wheat, of which there is a great quantity. The climate is rather cold and subject to violent storms of wind. It is fit for raising oxen, sheep, camels, asses, and other kinds of beasts. The disposition of the people is violent and hasty. They have no love for learning. Their language differs slightly from that of Mid-India. The people are generally honest and sincere. They deeply reverence the three precious objects of worship. There are about eighty *sangharamas* with some 5000 priests. They mostly study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. There are ten Deva temples, mostly occupied by heretics belonging to the Pasupatas.

In the capital town is a temple of Ta-tsz'-tsai-tin (Mahe vara Deva). The temple is ornamented with rich sculptures, and the image of the Deva is possessed of great spiritual powers. The Pasupata heretics dwell in this temple. In old days Tathagata often travelled through this country, to preach the law and convert men, leading the multitude and benefiting the people. On this account Asoka-raja built *stupas* on the spots consecrated by the sacred traces, six in number.

Going west from this less than 2000 li, we come to the country of Long-kie-lo (Langla).

LONG-KIE-LO [LANGLA]

This country⁸⁹ is several thousand li from east to west and from

⁸⁸ Jinaputra, in Chinese Tsui-shing-tzu; h's work, the *Yu-chie-shi-ti-lun-shih*, is a commentary on the *Yogacharyabhumi Sastra* (*Yu-chie-shi-ti-lun*) of Maitreya. Both works were translated into Chinese by Hiuén Tsiang.

⁸⁹ General Cunningham thinks this country may represent Lakorian or Lakura, the name of a great ruined city which Masson found between

north to south. The capital is about 30 li round. It is named Su-nu-li-chi-fa-lo (Sunurisvara?).⁹⁰ The soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant harvests. The climate and the manners of the people are like those of 'O-tin-p'o-chi-lo. The population is dense. It possesses abundance of precious gems and stones. It borders on the ocean. It is on the route to the kingdom of the western women.⁹¹ It has no chief ruler. The people occupy a long valley, and are not dependent on one another. They are under the government of Persia. The letters are much the same as those of India: their language is a little different. There are believers and heretics living together amongst them. There are some hundred *sangharamas*, and perhaps 6000 priests, who study the teaching of both the Little and Great Vehicle. There are several hundred Deva temples. The heretics called Pasupatas are exceedingly numerous. In the city is a temple to Mahesvara-Deva: it is richly adorned and sculptured. The Pasupata heretics here offer their religious worship.

From this going north-west, we come to the kingdom of Po-la-sse (Persia).

PO-LA-SSF [PERSIA]

This kingdom⁹² is several myriad of lis in circuit. Its chief town, called Su-la-sa-t'ang-na (Surasthana), is about 40 li in circuit. The valleys are extensive, and so the climate differs in character, but in general it is warm. They draw the water up to irrigate the fields. The people are rich and affluent. The country produces gold, silver, copper, rock-crystal (*sphatika*), rare pearls, and various precious substances. Their artists know how to weave fine brocaded silks, woolen stuffs, carpets, and so on. They have many *shen* horses and camels. In commerce they use large silver pieces. They are by nature violent and impulsive, and in their behaviour they practise neither decorum nor justice. Their writing and their language are different from other countries. They care not for learning, but give themselves entirely to works of art. All that they make the neighbouring countries value very much. Their marriage-customs are merely promiscuous intercourse. When dead their corpses are mostly abandoned. In stature they are tall: they tie up their hair (*arrange their head dress*) and go uncovered. Their robes are either of skin, or wool, or felt, or figured silk. Each family is subject to a tax of four pieces of silver per man. The Deva

Khozdar and Kilat, about 2000 li to the north-west of Kotesar in Kachh (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 311). The Chinese symbols might be restored to Longhir.

⁹⁰ Cunningham suggests Sambhurisvara as the restoration of this name (*ibid.*, loc. cit.).

⁹¹ See p. 437, *ante*.

⁹² This country does not belong to India (*Ch. Ed.*). Hiuen Tsiang did not visit it personally; he writes from report.

temples are very numerous. Dinava⁹³ (Ti-na-po) is principally worshipped by the heretics. There are two or three *sangharamas*, with several hundred priests, who principally study the teaching of the Little Vehicle according to the Sarvastavadin school. The *patra* of Sakya Buddha is in this (country), in the king's palace.⁹⁴

On the eastern frontiers of the country is the town of Homo (Ormuz?). The city inside is not great, but the external walls are in circuit about 60 li or so. The people who inhabit it are all very rich. To the north-west this country borders on the kingdom of Fo-lin,⁹⁵ which resembles the kingdom of Persia in point of soil, and manners, and customs; but they differ in point of language and appearance of the inhabitants. These also possess a quantity of valuable gems, and are very rich.

To the south-west of Fo-lin, in an island of the sea, is the kingdom of the western women:⁹⁶ here there are only women, with no men; they possess a large quantity of gems and precious stones, which they exchange in Fo-lin. Therefore the king of Fo-lin sends certain men to live with them for a time. If they should have male children, they are not allowed to bring them up.

On leaving the kingdom of O-tin-p'o-chi-lo, and going north 700 li or so, we come to the country of Pi-to-shi-lo.

PI-TO-SHI-LO [PITASILA]

This kingdom is about 3000 li round; the capital⁹⁷ is some 20 li in circuit. The population is dense. They have no chief ruler, but they depend on the country of Sin-tu. The soil is salt and sandy; the country is subject to a cold tempestuous wind. A great quantity of beans and wheat is grown. Flowers and fruits are scarce. The manners of the people are fierce and rough. Their language slightly differs from that of Mid-India. They do not love learning, but as far as they know they have a sincere faith. There are some fifty *sangharamas* with about 3000 priests; they study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. There are twenty Deva temples, frequented mostly by the heretics called Pasupatas.

⁹³ Julien restores this name, doubtfully, to Dinabha. Dinava, or Dinapa, however, may be a contraction for Dinapa (ti), "the lord of the day," or "the sun."

⁹⁴ For the wanderings of the *patra* of Buddha, see Fa-hian chap. xxxix. It is interesting to know that there were Buddhist temples and a community of priests in Persia at the time of Hsueh Tsiang. As they belonged to the school of the Little Vehicle, it is probable they had been established there from an early date.

⁹⁵ Fo-lin (*polin*) is generally supposed to represent the Byzantine Empire.

⁹⁶ For some references to the island or kingdom of the western women, see Marco Polo, chap. xxxi, and Colonel Yule's note (vol. ii p. 339).

To the north of the city 15 or 16 li, in the middle of a great forest, is a *stupa* several hundred feet high, built by Asoka-*raja*. It contains relics which from time to time emit a bright light. It was here that Tathagata, when in old time he was a Rishi, was subjected to the cruelty of the king.

Not far east from this is an old *sangharama*. This was built by the great Arhat, the great Katyayana. By the side of it are traces where the four Buddhas of the past age sat down and walked for exercise. They have erected a *stupa* to denote the spot.

Going north-east from this 300 li or so, we come to the country of 'O-fan-ch'a.

'O-FAN-CH'A [AVANDA?]

This kingdom is 2400 or 2500 li in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. There is no chief ruler, but the country is subject to Sin-tu. The soil is fit for the cultivation of grain, and abounds in beans and wheat; it produces but few flowers or fruits; the woods are thin. The climate is windy and cold; the disposition of the men is fierce and impulsive. Their language is simple and uncultivated. They do not value learning, but they are earnest and sincere believers in "the three gems." There are about twenty *sangharamas*, with some 2000 priests; they mostly study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. There are some five Deva temples, frequented by the heretics called Pasupatas.

To the north-east of the city, not a great distance, in the middle of a great bamboo forest is a *sangharama* mostly in ruins. Here Tathagata gave permission to the Bhikshus to wear *Kih-fu-to* (boots).⁹⁷ By the side of it is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*. Although the foundations have sunk into the earth, yet the remains are some hundred feet high. In a *vihara* by the side of the *stupa* is a blue-stone standing figure of Buddha. On sacred days (*fast-days*) it spreads abroad a divine light.

To the south 800* paces or so, in a forest, is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Tathagata, in time gone by, stopping here, finding it cold in the night covered himself with his three garments; on the morning following he permitted the Bhikshus to wear wadded garments. In this wood is a place where Buddha walked for exercise. There are also a number of *stupas* placed opposite one another, where the four Buddhas of the past age sat. In this *stupa* are relics of Buddha's hair and nails. On holy days they emit a miraculous light.

⁹⁷ There are some remarks made about permission to wear boots or shoes with thick linings in the *Mahavagga*, *varga* 13, § 6 (*S. B. E.*, vol. xvii, p. 35). It would seem from these records that this country of Avanda corresponded with Avanti.

Going from this north-east 900 li or so, we come to the country of Fa-la-na.

FA-LA-NA [VARANA]⁹⁸

This kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit, and the chief town about 20 li. The population is dense. The kingdom is subject to Kapisa. The chief portion of the country consists of mountains and forests. It is regularly cultivated. The climate is rather cold. The manners of the people are rough and fierce. They are persevering in their habits, but their purposes are low. Their language is somewhat like that of Mid-India. Some of them believe in Buddha, others not. They do not care about literature or the arts. There are some tens of *sangharamas*, but they are in ruins. There are about 300 priests, who study the Great Vehicle. There are about five Deva temples, frequented mostly by Pasupata heretics.

Not far to the south of the city is an old *sangharana*. Here Tathagata in old days preached, exhibiting the profit and delight of his doctrine, and opening the mind of his hearers. By the side of it are traces where the four past Buddhas sat down or walked for exercise. The common report says on the western frontier of this country is the kingdom of Ki-kiang-na (*Kikana*?). The people live amid the great mountains and valleys in separate clans. They have no chief ruler. They breed an immense quantity of sheep and horses. The *shen* horses are of a large size, and the countries around breed but few, and therefore they are highly valued.

Leaving this country and going north-west, after traversing great mountains and crossing wide valleys, and passing a succession of smaller towns, and going 2000 li or so, we leave the frontiers of India and come to the kingdom of Tsau-ku-ta.

NOTE.—The remainder of the section, noticed on pp. 443, 444, records a mission sent to the same king of Ceylon, Alibunai, by the Emperor of China (Ch'heng Tsu), under the direction of the eunuch Ch'hing Ho; his object was to offer incense and flowers. Having arrived, he exhorted the king to respect the teaching of Buddha and to expel the heretics. The king being enraged, desired to slay him, but Ch'hing Ho being aware of the plot, escaped. Again the same ambassador was sent to receive the homage of foreign states, and came to Ceylon (Si-lan-shan-kwo, the country of the Seilan mountain). The king rebelliously refused to pay any respect to the embassy, and collected 50,000 soldiers to block the way and to destroy the ships. Ch'hing Ho having learned the purpose of the king, sent secretly by a circuitous way to the ships, and got 300 soldiers by night to march on the royal city. Being surrounded by the enemy's troops, they defended the city for six days, and then having treated the king with contumely,

⁹⁸ Panini has a country called Varnu (iv. 2, 103; iv. 3, 95), from a river of the same name, in the group Suvastavadi; also in the group Kachchhadi, in which Gandhara also is included.

they opened the gates in the morning, and fought their way for twenty li; when the daylight began to fail, they offered up prayers to the sacred tooth, and suddenly an unusual light shone before them and lighted them on their way. Having reached their ships, they rested in peace, and arrived at the capital in the ninth year of Yung-loh (A.D. 1412), the seventh month, and ninth day.

END OF BOOK XI

BOOK XII

Contains an account of twenty-two countries, viz., (1) *Tsu-ku-cha*; (2) *Fo-li-shi-sa-t'ang-na*; (3) *'An-ta-lo-po*; (4) *K'woh-si-to*; (5) *Hwoh*; (6) *Mung-kin*; (7) *O-li-ni*; (8) *Ho-lo-hu*; (9) *Ki-li-seh-mo*; (10) *Po-li-ho*; (11) *Hi-mo-ta-lo*; (12) *Po-to-chang-na*; (13) *In-po-kin*; (14) *Kiu-lang-na*; (15) *Ta-mo-si-tie-ti*; (16) *Shi-k'i-ni*; (17) *Shang-mi*; (18) *K'ie-p'an-to*; (19) *U-sha*; (20) *Kie-sha*; (21) *Cho-kiu-kia*; (22) *K'iu-sa-ta-na*

TSU-KU-CHA [TSAUKUTA]

This country¹ is about 7000 li in circuit, the capital, which is called Ho-si-na (Ghazna), is about 30 li round. There is another capital, Ho-sa-la,² which is about 30 li round. Both of them are naturally strong and also fortified.³ Mountains and valleys succeed each other, with plains intervening, fit for cultivation. The land is sown and reaped in due season. Winter wheat is grown in great abundance; shrubs and trees grow in rich variety, and there are flowers and fruits in abundance. The soil is favourable for the *yo-kin* plant (*turmeric*) and for the *hing-kiu*;⁴ this last grows in the valley Lo-ma-in-tu.⁵

In the city Ho-sa-lo is a fountain, of which the water divides itself into many branches, and which the people utilise for the purposes of irrigation. The climate is cold; there are frequent hail and snow storms. The people are naturally light-hearted and impulsive; they are crafty and deceitful. They love learning and the arts, and show considerable skill in magical sentences, but they have no good aim in view.

They daily repeat several myriads of words; their writing and language differ from those of other countries. They are very specious in vain talk, but there is little body or truth in what they say. Although they worship a hundred (*many*) spirits, yet they also greatly reverence the three precious ones. There are several hundred *sangharamas*, with 1000 or so priests. They all

¹ For some reference to the country Tsaukuta, see *ante*, page 123 n. 218. Cunningham identifies it with the Arachosia of classical writers (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 40).

² The identification of Ho-si-na^c with Ghazni was first made by M. V. de St. Martin; he also proposed to restore Ho-sa-la to Hazara, but General Cunningham remarks that this name, as applied to the district in question, is not older than the time of Chinghiz Khan; he therefore, proposes Guzaristan, on the Helmand, the Ozola of Ptolemy, as the equivalent of the Chinese symbols (*ibid.*, loc. cit.).

³ For the strength of Ghazni see Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42).

⁴ *Hingu*, assafœtida (Julien). ⁵ Ramendu? (Julien).

study the Great Vehicle. The reigning sovereign is sincere and honest in his faith, and is the successor of a long line of kings. He applies himself assiduously to religious work (*merit*) and is well instructed and fond of learning. There are some ten *stupas* built by Asoka-*raja*, and several tens of Deva temples, in which sectaries of various denominations dwell together.

The Tirthaka⁶ heretics are very numerous; they worship principally the Deva Kshuna (T'seu-na). This Deva spirit formerly came from Mount Aruna (O-lu-nao) in Kapisa, and took up his abode here in the southern districts of this kingdom, in the Mount Sunagir.⁷ He is severe or good, causing misfortune or excusing violence. Those who invoke him with faith obtain their wishes; those who despise him reap misfortune. Therefore people both far off and near show for him deep reverence; high and low alike are filled with religious awe of him. The princes, nobles, and people of this as well as of foreign countries assemble every year at a season of rejoicing which is not fixed, and offer gold and silver and precious objects of rare value (*choice trifles*), with sheep, and horses, and domestic animals, all which they present in confiding trust, so that though the earth is covered with silver and gold, and the sheep and horses fill the valleys, yet no one would dare to cheat them: they consider them as things set apart for sacred purposes. The heretics (Tirthakas), by subduing their minds and mortifying their flesh, get from the spirits of heaven sacred formulæ. By the use of these they are frequently able to control diseases and recover the sick.

Going from this northwards 500 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Fo-li-shi-sa-t'ang-na.

FO-LI-SHI-SA-T'ANG-NA [PARSUSTHANA, or VARDASTHANA ?]

This kingdom⁸ is about 2000 li from east to west and 1000 li from north to south. The capital is called U-pi-na (Hupian),⁹ and is 20 li round. As regards the soil and the manners of the people, these are the same as in Tsu-ku-cha; the language, how-

⁶ The symbols *Wai-tao* may denote the Tirthakas, as Julien seems to suppose; or they may be simply equal to "only the greater part are *Wai-tao*," the symbols *wai-tao* are generally applied to the Tirthakas, for which see Eitel, *Handbook*, sub. voc.

⁷ For this mountain see *ante*, page 123. It may be restored to Kshuna Hilo or Hila.

⁸ Panini mentions Parsusthana, the country of the Parsus, a warlike tribe, in this direction (v. 3, 117; *Brih. Sam.*, xiv. 18). Baber (*Mem.*, p. 140) mentions the Parachis among the tribes of Afghanistan. Ptolemy has two places, Parsiana (lib. vi. c. 18, s. 4) and Parsia (*ib.*, s. 5), and also the tribes Parsioi and Parsuetai (*ib.*, s. 3), somewhere in this vicinity.

⁹ Hupian or Opian, a little to the north of Charikar, in lat. 35° 2' N., long. 69° 1' E., at the entrance of a pass over the north-east end of the Pamghan range.

ever, is different. The climate is icy cold ; the men are naturally fierce and impetuous. The king is a Turk (Tu-kieuh). They have (*or* he has) profound faith for the three precious objects of worship ; he esteems learning and honours virtue (*or*, the virtuous, *i.e.*, the priests).

Going to the north-east of this kingdom, traversing mountains and crossing rivers, and passing several tens of little towns situated on the frontier of the country of Kapisa, we come to a great mountain pass called Po-lo-si-na (Varasena),¹⁰ which forms part of the great snowy mountains. This mountain pass is very high ; the precipices are wild and dangerous ; the path is tortuous, and the caverns and hollows wind and interwine together. At one time the traveller enters a deep valley, at another he mounts a high peak, which in full summer is blocked with frozen ice. By cutting steps up the ice the traveller passes on, and after three days he comes to the highest point of the pass. There the icy wind, intensely cold, blows with fury ; the piled snow fills the valleys. Travellers pushing their way through, dare not pause on their route. The very birds that fly in their wheeling flight¹¹ cannot mount alone this point, but go afoot across the height and then fly downwards. Looking at the mountains round, they seem as little hillocks. This is the highest peak of all Jambudvīpa. No trees are seen upon it, but only a mass of rocks, crowded one by the side of the other, like a wild forest.

Going on for three days more, we descend the pass and come to 'An-ta-lo-po (Andar-ab).¹²

'AN-TA-LO-PO [ANDAR-AB]

This is the old land of the Tu-ho-lo country.¹³ It is about 3000 li round ; the capital is 14 or 15 li round. They have no chief ruler ; it is dependent on the Turks (Tuh-kiueh).¹⁴ Mountains and hills follow in chains, with valleys intersecting them. The arable land is very contracted. The climate is very severe. The wind and the snow are intensely cold and violent ; yet the country is regularly cultivated and productive : it is suitable also for flowers and fruits. The men are naturally fierce and violent. The common people are unrestrained in their ways, and know neither wrong nor right. They do not care about learning, and give themselves only to the worship of spirits. Few of them believe in the religion of Buddha. There are three *sangharamas* and some tens of priests. They follow the teaching of the Maha-

¹⁰ This pass over the Hindu Kush (the Paropamisus or Indian Caucasus) is probably the same as the Khawak Pass described by Wood (*Oxus*, p. 274). He found it to be 13,000 feet in height.

¹¹ *Ngō ts'eung*, soaring birds.

¹² See Book i., n. 146.

¹³ That is, of the Tokhari people. See Book i., n. 121.

¹⁴ That is, on the Turkish tribe from the borders of China that had overrun this district (see note, *loc. cit.*).

sanghika (Ta-chong-pu) school There is one *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*.

Going north-west from this we enter a valley, skirt along a mountain pass, traverse several little twons, and after going about 400 li we arrive at K'woh-si-to.

K'WOH-SI-TO [KHOST]¹⁵

This also is the old land of the Tu-ho-lo country. It is about 3000 li in circuit; the capital is about 10 li round. It has no chief ruler, but is dependent on the Turks. It is mountainous, with many contracted valleys; hence it is subject to icy-cold winds. It produces much grain, and it abounds with flowers and fruits. The disposition of the men is fierce and violent; they live without laws. There are three *sangharamas*, with very few priests.

Going from this north-west, skirting the mountains and crossing the valleys, and passing by several towns, after about 300 li we come to the country called Hwoh.

HWOH [KUNDUZ]¹⁶

This country is also the old land of the Tuh-ho-lo country. It is about 3000 li in circuit; the chief town is about 10 li. There is no chief ruler, but the country depends on the Turks. The land is level and plain. It is regularly cultivated, and produces cereals in abundance. Trees and shrubs grow plentifully, and flowers and fruits (*of various kinds*) are wonderfully abundant. The climate is soft and agreeable; the manners of the people simple and honest. The men are naturally quick and impulsive; they clothe themselves with woolen garments. Many believe in the three precious objects (*of worship*), and a few pay their adoration to the spirits. There are ten *sangharamas* with several hundred followers (*priests*). They study both the Great and the Little Vehicle, and practise the discipline of both. The king is of the Turkish clan; he governs all the little kingdoms to the south of the Iron Gates.¹⁷ He constantly shifts his dwelling, like a bird (*his bird-dwelling*), not constantly occupying this town.

Going east from this, we enter the T'sung-ling mountains.¹⁸ These mountains are situated in the middle of Jambuduvipa. On the south they border on the great snowy mountains; on the north they reach to the hot sea (*Lake Temuru*), and to the "Thousand Springs;" on the west they extend to the kingdom of Hwoh; on the east to the kingdom of U-cha (Och). From east to west and from north to south they run equally for several

¹⁵ See Book i., n. 145.

¹⁶ See Book i., n. 35.

¹⁷ For the "iron gates" see Book i., n. 119.

¹⁸ For the T'sung-ling Mountains see Book i., n. 77.

thousand li, and abound in many hundreds of steep peaks and dark valleys. The mountain heights are rendered dangerous by the glaciers and frozen snow. The cold winds blow with fury. As the land produces a great quantity of onions therefore it is called T'sung-ling; or because the crags of these mountains have a greenish-blue tint, hence also the name.

Going east 100 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Mung-kin.

MUNG-KIN [MUNJAN]

This country¹⁹ is an old territory of the Tu-ho-li country. It is about 400 li in circuit. The chief city is about 15 or 16 li round. The soil and manners of the people resemble to a great extent the Hwoh country. There is no chief ruler, but they depend on the Turks. Going north we come to the country of 'O-li-ni.

O-LI-NI [AHRENG]

This country²⁰ is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. It borders both sides of the river Oxus.²¹ It is about 300 li in circuit; the chief city is 14 or 15 li round. In character of its soil and manners of the people it greatly resembles the Hwoh country.

Going east, we come to Ho-lo-hu.²²

HO-LO-HU [RAGH]

This country²³ is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. On the north it borders on the Oxus (Fo-ts'u, Vakshu). It is about 200 li in circuit. The chief town is about 14 or 15 li round. The products of the soil and the manners of the people greatly resemble the Hwoh country.

Going eastward from the Mung-kin country, skirting along high mountain passes, and penetrating deep valleys and passing in succession various districts and towns, after a journey of 300 li or so we arrive at the country of Ki-li-si-mo.

KI-LI-SI-MO [KHRISHMA or KISHM]

This country²⁴ is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. From east to west it is 1000 li or so; from north to south it is 300 li. The capital is 15 or 16 li round. The soil and the manners of the people are just like those of Mung-kin, except that these men are naturally hot-tempered and violent.

Going north-east we come to the kingdom of Po-li-ho (Bolor).

¹⁹ For Mung-kin see Book i., n. 144.

²⁰ For this country see Book i., n. 143.

²¹ The Po-t'su (Vakshu).

²² The Japanese gives Ka-ra-ko. After Julien it represents Roh or Poshan (V. St. Martin, p. 421).

²³ See Book i., n. 142.

²⁴ See Book i., n. 141.

PO-LI-HO [BOLOR]

This country²⁵ is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. From east to west it is about 100 li, and from north to south about 300 li. The chief town is some 20 li or so in circuit. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people are like those of Ki-li-si-mo.

Going east from Ki-li-si-mo, after traversing mountains and crossing valleys for about 300 li, we come to the country of Hi-mo-ta-lo.

HI-MO-TA-LO [HIMĀTALA]

This country²⁶ is an old territory of the country of Tu-ho-lo. It is about 300 li in circuit. It is cut up by mountains and valleys. The soil is rich and fertile, and fit for cereals. It produces much winter wheat. Every kind of plant flourishes, and fruits of all sorts grow in abundance. The climate is cold; the disposition of the men violent and hasty. They do not distinguish between wrong and right. Their appearance is vulgar and ignoble. In respect of their modes of behaviour and forms of etiquette, their clothes of wool, and skin, and felt, they are like the Turks. Their wives wear upon their headdress a wooden horn about three feet or so in length. It has two branches (*a double branch*) in front, which signify father and mother of the husband. The upper horn denotes the father, the lower one the mother. Whichever of these two dies first, they remove one horn, but when both are dead, they give up this style of headdress.

The first king of this country was a Sakya,²⁷ fearless and bold. To the west of the T'sung-ling mountains most of the people were subdued to his power. The frontiers were close to the Turks, and so they adopted their low customs, and suffering from their attacks they adopted their frontier. And thus the people of this kingdom were dispersed into different districts, and had many tens of fortified cities, over each of which a separate chief was placed. The people live in tents made of felt, and lead the life of nomads.

On the west side this kingdom touches the country of Ki-li-si-mo. Going from this 200 odd li, we arrive at the country of Po-to-chang-na (Badakshan).

PO-TO-CHANG-NA [BADAKSHAN]

This kingdom²⁸ is an old territory of the Tu-ho-lo country; it is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital, which is placed on the side of a mountain precipice, is some 6 or 7 li in circuit. It is intersected with mountains and valleys, a vast expanse of sand

²⁵ See Book i., n. 140.

²⁶ See Book i., n. 139.

²⁷ Referring, as I suppose, to the history of the champions who were banished from Kapilavastu.

²⁸ See Book i., n. 136.

and stone stretches over it; the soil is fit for the growth of beans and wheat; it produces an abundance of grapes, the khamil peach, and plums, &c. The climate is very cold. The men are naturally fierce and hasty; their customs are ill-regulated; they have no knowledge of letters or the arts; their appearance is low and ignoble; they wear mostly garments of wool. There are three or four *sangharamas*, with very few followers. The king is of an honest and sincere disposition. He has a deep faith in the three precious objects of worship.

Going from this south-east, passing across mountains and valleys, after 200 li or so we come to the country of In-po-kin (Yamgan).

IN-PO-KIN [YAMGAN]

This country²⁹ is an old territory of the Tu-ho-lo country. It is about 1000 li or so in circuit. The capital is about 10 li round. There is a connected line of hills and valleys through the country, with narrow strips of arable land. With respect to the produce of the soil, the climate, and the character of the people, these differ little from the kingdom of Po-to-chang-na, only the character of the language differs slightly. The king's nature is violent and impulsive, and he does not know clearly the difference between right and wrong.

Going from this south-east, skirting the mountains and crossing the valleys, traversing thus by narrow and difficult ways a distance of 300 li or so, we arrive at the country of Kiu-lang-na.

KIU-LANG-NA [KURAN]

This country³⁰ is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo; it is about 2000 li round. As regards the character of the soil, the mountains and the valleys, the climate and the seasons, it resembles the kingdom of In-po-kin (In-vakan). The customs of the people are without rule, their disposition is rough (*common*) and violent; the greater portion do not attend to religion; a few believe in the law of Buddha. The appearance of the people is displeasing and ungainly. They wear principally woollen garments. There is a mountain cavern from which much pure gold is procured (*dug out*). They break the stones and afterwards procure the gold. There are few *sangharamas*, and scarcely any priests. The king is honest and simple-minded. He deeply reverences the three precious objects of worship.

Going north-east from this, after climbing the mountains and penetrating valleys, and going along a precipitous and dangerous road for 500 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Ta-mo-si-tie-ti.

²⁹ See Book i., n. 137.

³⁰ See Book i., n. 138.

TA-MO-SI-TIE-TI [TAMASTHITI ?]

This country³¹ is situated between two mountains. It is an old territory of Tu-ho-lo. From east to west it extends about 1500 or 1600 li; from north to south its width is only 4 or 5 li, and in its narrowest part not more than one li. It lies upon the Oxus (Fo-t'su) river, which it follows along its winding course. It is broken up with hills of different heights, whilst sand and stones lie scattered over the surface of the soil. The wind is icy cold and blows fiercely. Though they sow the ground, it produces but a little wheat and pulse. There are few trees (*forest trees*), but plenty of flowers and fruits. Here the *shen* horse is bred. The horse, though small in size, yet easily travels a long distance. The manners of the people have no regard to propriety. The men are rough and violent; their appearance low and ignoble. They wear woollen garments. Their eyes are mostly of a blue colour,³² and in this respect they differ from the people of other countries. There are some ten *sangharamas*, with very few priests (*religious followers*)

The capital of the country is called Hwan-t'o-to. In the middle of it is a *sangharama* built by a former king of this country. In its construction³³ he excavated the side of the hill and filled up the valley. The early kings of this country were not believers, in Buddha, but sacrificed only to the spirits worshipped by unbelievers; but for some centuries the converting power of the true law has been diffused. At the beginning, the son of the king of this country, who was much loved by him, fell sick of a serious disease; he employed the utmost skill of the medicine art, but it brought no benefit. Then the king went personally to the Deva temple to worship and ask for some means of recovering his child. On this the chief of the temple, speaking in the name of the spirit, said, "Your son will certainly recover; let your mind rest in peace." The king having heard it, was greatly pleased, and returned homewards. On his way he met a Shaman, his demeanour staid and remarkable. Astonished at his appearance and dress, the king asked him whence he came and whither he was going. The Shaman having already reached the holy fruit (*of an Arhat*), desired to spread the law of Buddha, and therefore he had assumed this deportment and appearance; so replying he said, "I am a disciple of Tathagata, and am called a Bhikshu." The king, who was in great anxiety, at once asked him, "My son is grievously afflicted; I scarcely know whether he is living or dead. (*Will he recover?*)" The Shaman said, "You might raise (*from the dead*) the spirits of your ancestors, but your loved son it is difficult to deliver." The king replied, "A spirit of

³¹ See Book i., n. 135.

³² *Pih*, either blue or green, like the deep sea.

³³ In constructing and shaping its courts and halls.

heaven has assured me he will not die, and the Shaman says he will die ; it is difficult to know what to believe, coming from these masters of religion.”³⁴ Coming to his palace, he found that his loved son was already dead. Hiding the corpse and making no funeral preparations, he again asked the priest of the Deva temple respecting him. In reply he said, “He will not die ; he will certainly recover.” The king in a rage seized the priest and held him fast, and then upbraiding him he said, “You and your accomplices are monstrous cheats ; you pretend to be religious, but you practise lying. My son is dead, and yet you say he will certainly recover. Such lying cannot be endured ; the priest (*master*) of the temple shall die and the building be destroyed.” On this he killed the priest and took the image and flung it into the Oxus. On his return, he once more met the Shaman ; on seeing him he was glad, and respectfully prostrated himself before him, as he gratefully said, “Hitherto I have ignorantly followed (*my guide*), and trod the path of false teaching. Although I have for a long time followed the windings of error, now the change has come from this.”³⁵ I pray you condescend to come with me to my dwelling.” The Shaman accepted the invitation and went to the palace. The funeral ceremonies being over, (*the king*) addressed the Shaman and said, “The world of men is in confusion, birth and death flow on ceaselessly ; my son was sick, and I asked whether he would remain with me or depart, and the lying spirit said he would surely recover ; but the first words of indication you gave were true and not false. Therefore the system of religion you teach is to be revered. Deign to receive me, deceived as I have been, as a disciple.” He, moreover, begged the Shaman to plan and measure out a *sangharama* ; then, according to the right dimensions, he constructed this building, and from that time till now the law of Buddha has been in a flourishing condition.

In the middle of the old *sangharama* is the *vihara* built by this Arhat. In the *vihara* is a statue of Buddha in stone ; above the statue is a circular cover of gilded copper, and ornamented with gems ; when men walk round the statue in worship, the cover also turns ; when they stop, the cover stops. The miracle cannot be explained. According to the account given by the old people, it is said that the force of a prayer of a holy man effects the miracle. Others say there is some secret mechanism in the matter ; but when looking at the solid stone walls of the hall, and inquiring from the people as to their knowledge (*of such mechanism*), it is difficult to arrive at any satisfaction about the matter.

Leaving this country, and traversing a great mountain northward, we arrive at the country of Shi-k'i-ni (Shikh-nan).

³⁴ *Kwei tsuh che jin*, men who reprove the world.

³⁵ *I.e.*, from this interview

SHI-K'I-NI [SHIKHNAN]

This country³⁶ is about 2000 li in circuit, the chief city is 5 or 6 li. Mountains and valleys follow each other in a connected succession; sand and stones lie scattered over the waste lands. Much wheat and beans are grown, but little rice. The trees are thin, flowers and fruits not abundant. The climate is icy-cold; the men are fierce and intrepid. They think nothing of murder and robbery; they are ignorant of good manners or justice, and cannot distinguish between right and wrong. They are deceived as to the happiness and misery of the future, and only fear present calamities. Their figure and appearance are poor and ignoble; their garments are made of wool or skin; their writing is the same as that of the Turks, but the spoken language is different.

Passing along a great mountain to the south of the kingdom of Ta-ma-si-tie-ti (Tamasthiti?³⁷), we come to the country of Shang-mi.

SHANG-MI [SAMBHI?]

This country³⁸ is about 2500 or 2600 li in circuit. It is intersected with mountains and valleys; with hills of various heights. Every kind of grain is cultivated; beans and wheat are abundant. Grapes are plentiful. The country produces yellow arsenic. They bore into the cliffs and break the stones, and so obtain it. The mountain spirits are cruel and wicked; they frequently cause calamities to befall the kingdom.

On entering the country, sacrifice is offered up to them, after which good success attends the persons in coming and going. If no sacrifice is offered them, the wind and the hail attack the travellers. The climate is very cold; the ways of the people are quick, their disposition is honest and simple. They have no rules of propriety or justice in their behaviour; their wisdom is small, and in the arts they have very little ability. Their writing is the same as that of the kingdom of Tu-ho-lo, but the spoken language is somewhat different. Their clothes are mostly made of woollen stuff. Their king is of the race of Sakya.³⁹ He greatly esteems the law of Buddha. The people follow his example, and are all animated by a sincere faith. There are two *sangharamas*, with very few followers.

³⁶ See Book i., n. 133.

³⁷ Tamasthiti, according to Eitel (*Handbook*, s. v.), was "an ancient province of Tukhara, noted for the ferocious character of its inhabitants." But this is probably derived from Julien's restoration in the text, which he gives doubtfully.

³⁸ This is the country over which one of the banished Sakya youths reigned (see *ante*, p. 274). It is restored by Julien to Sambhi in the passage before us, but to Sambi, vol. ii. p. 318. Eitel (*op. cit.*, s. v.) speaks of this kingdom as founded by refugees of the Sakya family, and situated near Chitral, lat. 35° 35' N., and long. 72° 27' E.

³⁹ See previous note.

On the north-east of the frontier of the country skirting the mountains and crossing the valleys, advancing along a dangerous and precipitous road, after going 700 li or so, we come to the valley of Po-mi-lo (Pamir).⁴⁰ It stretches 1000 li or so east and west, and 100 li or so from north to south; in the narrowest part it is not more than 10 li. It is situated among the snowy mountains; on this account the climate is cold, and the winds blow constantly. The snow falls both in summer and spring-time. Night and day the wind rages violently. The soil is impregnated with salt and covered with quantities of gravel and sand. The grain which is sown does not ripen, shrubs and trees are rare; there is but a succession of desert without any inhabitants.

In the middle of the Pamir valley is a great dragon lake (Nagahrada); from east to west it is 300 li or so, from north to south 50 li. It is situated in the midst of the great T'sung ling mountains, and is the central point of Jambudvipa.⁴¹ The land is very high; the water is pure and clear as a mirror; it cannot be fathomed; the colour of the lake is a dark blue; the taste of the water sweet and soft; in the water hide the *kau-ki* fish (*shark-spider*), dragons, crocodiles, tortoises; floating on its surface⁴² are ducks, wild geese, cranes, and so on; large eggs are found concealed in the wild desert wastes, or among the marshy shrubs, or on the sandy islets.

To the west of the lake there is a large stream, which going west, reaches so far as the eastern borders of the kingdom of Ta-mo-si-tie-ti (? Tamasthiti), and there joins the river Oxus (Fo-t'su) and flows still to the west. So on this side of the lake all the streams flow westward.

⁴⁰ Pamir, according to Sir T. D. Forsyth (*Report of Mission to Yarkand*, p. 231, n.) is a Khokandi Turki word signifying "desert." For a description of this district and its watersheds, see Forsyth (*op. cit.*, p. 231), also Wood's *Oxus*, chap. xxi.

⁴¹ This no doubt refers to the Sarik-kul lake, otherwise called Kul-i-Pamir-kulan, the lake of the Great Pamir; see *ante*, vol. i. n. 33. The great Naga lake is sometimes called the Ravanahrada; Ravana also dwelt on Lanka-giri (Potaraka?), and possibly from him is derived the Arabic name for Adam's Peak, Mount Rahwan. The remark in the text "that it cannot be fathomed" is a mistake. Wood found soundings at 9 fathoms (*Oxus*, p. 237).

⁴² Hiuen Tsiang's visit was during the summer months (probably of A.D. 642); in the winter, the lake is frozen to a thickness of two feet and a half (Wood's *Oxus* p. 236). But in the summer the ice on the lake is broken up, and the hills in its neighbourhood clear of snow; this (according to the statement of the Khirghiz who accompanied Wood) takes place as early as the end of June, "at which time the water swarms with aquatic birds" (*op. cit.*, p. 239); this confirms the remarks in the text. For the other remarks, see Marco Polo, book i. chap. xxxii, and Yule's notes.

On the east of the lake is a great stream,⁴³ which, flowing north-east, reaches to the western frontiers of the country of Kie-sha (?Kashgar), and there joins the Si-to (Sita) river⁴⁴ and flows eastward, and so all streams on the left side of the lake flow eastward.

Passing over a mountain to the south of the Pamir valley, we find the country of Po-lo-lo (Bolor);⁴⁵ here is found much gold and silver; the gold is as red as fire.

On leaving the midst of this valley and going south-east, along the route there is no inhabited place (*no men or village*). Ascending the mountains, traversing the side of precipices, encountering nothing but ice and snow, and thus going 500 li we arrive at the kingdom of K'ie-p'an-to.

K'IE-P'AN-TO

This country⁴⁶ is about 2000 li in circuit; the capital rests on a great rocky crag of the mountain, and is backed by the river Sita. It is about 20 li in circuit. The mountain chains run in continuous succession, the valleys and plains are very contracted.

⁴³ "The story of an eastern outflow from the lake is no doubt a legend connected with an ancient Hindu belief (see *Cathay*, p. 347), but Burnes in modern times heard much the same story" (Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 166).

⁴⁴ For some remarks on the Sita river see *ante*, vol. i. n. 34. Julien, in a note found on p. 572, vol. iii., corrects the name to Sita, meaning "cold"; his authority is the Chinese Dictionary, *I-tsi-king-in-i*.

⁴⁵ Perhaps the same as Balti, a Tibetan kingdom. See Cunningham (quoted by Yule, *M. P.*, vol. i. p. 168).

⁴⁶ Julien restores the symbols K'ie-p'an-to to Khavandha doubtfully. V. de St. Martin in his *Memoire* (p. 426) restores it to Karchu, and in *Fa-hian* (p. 9, n. 6). I have adopted this restoration. Col. Yule, however (Wood's *Oxus*, xlviii. n. 1), speaks of Karchu as "a will-o'-the wisp, which never had any existence." On the other hand, he says, "We know this state (*i.e.*, Kabandha, the *K'ie-p'an-to* of the text) to be identical with the modern territory of Sarikol, otherwise called Tush Kurghan from its chief town" (*op. cit.*, p. xlviii); and again, "As for Karchu, which in so many maps occupies a position on the waters of the Yarkand river, it was an erroneous transliteration of the name Hatchut or Ketchut, which appeared in the (Chinese) tables of the later Jesuit surveyors to the south of Sarikol and was by them apparently intended as a loose approximation to the position of the frontier of the Dard state of Kanjut or Hunza" (*op. cit.*, p. lv). It would appear from the above extracts that K'ie-p'an-to must be identified with Sarikol and Tush Kurghan (stone-tower), and not with the Kie-cha of Fa-hian. I am unable, however, to trace Fa-hian's route to "Kie-cha" or Ladak," as stated by Yule (*op. cit.*, xl.), and Cunningham (*Ladak*, quoted by Yule, *ibid.*); for if *Kie-cha* be Ladak, how can the pilgrim describe it as in the middle of the T'sung-ling mountains (chap. v.), or say that a journey of one month westward across the T'sung-ling mountains brought him to North India (chap. vi)? Dr. Eitel identifies the K'ie-cha of Fa-hian with the Kasioi of Ptolemy (*Handbook*, s. v. *Khasa*); M. V. de St. Martin observes (*Memoire*, p. 427) that Kashgar and its territory correspond with the *Casia regio Scythæ* of Ptolemy.

There is very little rice cultivated, but beans and corn grow in abundance. Trees grow thinly, there are only few fruits and flowers. The plateaux are soppy, the hills are waste, the towns are deserted; the manners of the people are without any rules of propriety. There are very few of the people who give themselves to study. They are naturally uncouth and impetuous, but yet they are bold and courageous. Their appearance is common and revolting; their clothes are made of woolen stuffs. Their letters are much like those of the Kie-sha (?Kashgar) country. They know how to express themselves sincerely, and they greatly reverence the law of Buddha. There are some ten *sangharamas* with about 500 followers. They study the Little Vehicle according to the school of the Sarvastivas.

The reigning king is of an upright and honest character; he greatly honours the three treasures; his external manner is quiet and unassuming; he is of a vigorous mind and loves learning.

Since the establishment of the kingdom many successive ages have passed. Sometimes the people speak of themselves as deriving their name from the Chi-na-ti-po-k'iu-ta-lo (China deva-gotra). Formerly this country was a desert valley in the midst of the T'sung-ling mountains. At this time a king of the kingdom of Persia (Po-la-sse) took a wife from the Han country. She had been met by an escort on her progress so far as this, when the roads east and west were stopped by military operations. On this they placed the king's daughter on a solitary mountain peak, very high and dangerous, which could only be approached by ladders, up and down; moreover, they surrounded it with guards both night and day for protection. After three months the disturbances were quelled (*they put down the robbers*). Quiet being restored, they were about to resume their homeward journey. But now the lady was found to be enciente. Then the minister in charge of the mission was filled with fear and he addressed his colleagues thus: "The king's commands were that I should go to meet his bride. Our company, in expectation of a cessation of the troubles that endangered the roads, at one time encamped in the wilds. At another in the deserts; in the morning we knew not what would happen before the evening. At length the influence of our king having quieted the country, I was resuming the progress homeward when I found that the bride was enciente. This has caused me great grief, and I know not the place of my death. We must inquire about the villian who has done this (*secretly*), with a view to punish him hereafter. If we talk about it and noise it abroad, we shall never get at the truth." Then his servant, addressing the envoy, said, "Let there be no inquiry; it is a spirit that has had knowledge of her; every day at noon there was a chief-master who came from the sun's disc, and, mounted on horse-back, came to meet her." The envoy said, "If this be so, how

can I clear myself from fault? If I go back I shall certainly be put to death; if I delay here they will send to have me punished. What is the best thing to do?" He answered, "This is not so complicated a matter; who is there to make inquiries about matters or to exact punishment outside the frontiers? Put it off a few days (*from morning to evening*)."

On this he built, on the top of a rocky peak, a palace with its surrounding apartments;⁴⁷ then having erected an enclosure round the palace of some 300 paces, he located the princes there as chief. She established rules of government and enacted laws. Her time having come, she bore a son of extraordinary beauty and perfect parts. The mother directed the affairs of state; the son received his honourable title;⁴⁸ he was able to fly through the air and control the winds and snow. He extended his power far and wide, and the renown of his laws was everywhere known. The neighbouring countries and those at a distance subscribed themselves as his subjects.

The king having died from age, they buried him in a stone chamber concealed with a great mountain cavern about 100 li to the south-east of this city. His body, being dried, has escaped corruption down to the present time. The form of his body is shrivelled up and thin: he looks as if he were asleep. From time to time they change his clothes, and regularly place incense and flowers by his side. From that time till now his descendants have ever recollected their origin, that their mother (*or*, on their mother's side), they were descended from the king of Han, and on their father's side from the race of the Sun-deva, and therefore they style themselves "descendants of the Han and Sun-god."⁴⁹

The members of the royal family in appearance resemble the people of the Middle Country (China). They wear on their heads a square cap, and their clothes are like those of the Hu people (Uighurs). In after-ages these people fell under the power of the barbarians, who kept their country in their power.

When Asoka-*raja* was in the world he built in this palace a *stupa*. Afterwards, when the king changed his residence to the

⁴⁷ This may be the origin of the term *Tash Kurghan*, stone tower.

⁴⁸ That is, the son of the Sun-god.

⁴⁹ There is in this story a sort of resemblance to the tale about Syawush the Persian and Afrasyab the Turanian. The latter gave to the royal refugee his daughter Farangis, with the provinces of Khutan and Chin or Machin (Mahachin?). They settled at Kung, some distance north-east of Khutan. See Bellew, *History of Kashgar* (chap. iii., Forsyth's Report). The fame of Kaikhusro (Cyrus) as a hero-child of the sun seems to agree with the miraculous birth and conquests of the child whose birth is narrated in the text. I may add that a consideration of the circumstances connected with the history of the Persian (Iranian) and Turanian tribes confirms me in the opinion that the Tu-ho-lu of Hiuen Tsiang refers to the Turanian people, and not to the Turks (so-called).

north-east angle of the royal precinct, he built in this old palace a *sangharama* for the sake of Kumaralabdha (T'ong-shiu). The towers of this building are high (*and its halls*) wide. There is in it a figure of Buddha of majestic appearance. The venerable Kumaralabdha was a native of Takshasila. From his childhood he showed a rare intelligence, and in early life gave up the world. He allowed his mind to wander through the sacred texts, and let his spirit indulge itself in profound reveries. Daily he recited 32,000 words and wrote 32,000 letters. In this way he was able to surpass all his contemporaries, and to establish his renown beyond the age in which he lived. He settled the true law, and overcame false doctrine, and distinguished himself by the brilliancy of his discussion. There was no difficulty which he could not overcome. All the men of the five Indies came to see him, and assigned him the highest rank. He composed many tens of *sastras*. These were much renowned and studied by all. He was the founder of the Sautrantika (Kingpu) school.

At this time in the east was Asvaghosha, in the south Deva, in the west Nagarjuna, in the north Kumaralabdha. These four were called the four sons that illumined the world. The king of this country, therefore, having heard of the honourable one (*Kumaralabadha*) and his great qualities, raised an army to attack Takshasila, and carried him off by force. He then built this *sangharama*.

Going south-east 300 li or so from the city, we come to a great rocky scrap in which two chambers are excavated, in each of which is an Arhat plunged in complete ecstasy. They are sitting upright, and they could be moved but with difficulty. Their appearance is shrivelled, but their skin and bones still grows, and because of this the priests cut their hair every year and change their clothes.

To the north-east of the great crag after going 200 li or so along the mountain-side and the precipices, we come to a *Punyasala* (*a hospice*).

In the midst of four mountains belonging to the eastern chain of the T'sung-ling mountains there is a space comprising some hundred *k'ing* (*thousand acres*). In this, both during summer and winter, there fall down piles of snow; the cold winds and icy storms rage. The ground, impregnated with salt, produces no crops; there are no trees and nothing but scrubby underwood. Even at the time of great heat the wind and the snow continue. Scarcely have travellers entered this region when they find themselves surrounded by vapour from the snow. Merchant bands, caravans, in coming and going suffer severally in these difficult and dangerous spots.

The old story says: "Formerly there was a troop of merchants, who, with their followers, amounted to 10,000 or so,

with many thousand camels. They were occupied in transporting their goods and getting profit. They were assailed by wind and snow, and both men and beasts perished.

As this time there was a great Arhat who belonged to the kingdom of Kie-p'an-to, who, taking a wide look, saw them in their danger, and being moved by pity, desired to exert his spiritual power for their rescue; but when he arrived they were already dead. On this he collected the precious objects that lay scattered about and constructed a house, and gathering in this all the wealth he could, he bought the neighbouring land and built houses in the bordering cities for the accomodation of travellers, and now merchantmen and travellers enjoy the benefit of his beneficence.

Going north-east from this, descending the T'sung-ling mountains to the eastward, after passing dangerous defiles and deep valleys, and traversing steep and dangerous roads, assailed at every step by snow and wind, after going 100 li or so, we emerge from the T'sung-ling mountains and come to the kingdom of U-sha.

U-SHA [OCH]

This kingdom is about 1000 li in circuit; the chief town is about 10 li round. On the south it borders on the river Sita. The soil is rich and productive; it is regularly cultivated and yields abundant harvests. The trees and forests spread their foliage afar, and flowers and fruits abound. This country produces jade of different sorts in great quantities; white jade, black, and green. The climate is soft and agreeable; the winds and rain follow in their season; the manners of the people are not much in keeping with the principles of politeness. The men are naturally hard and uncivilised; they are greatly given to falsehood, and few of them have any feeling of shame. Their language and writing are nearly the same as those of Kie-sha. Their personal appearance is low and repulsive. Their clothes are made of skins and woollen stuffs. However, they have a firm faith in the law of Buddha and greatly honour him. There are some ten *sangharamas*, with somewhat less than 1000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the school of the Sarvastivadas. For some centuries the royal line has been extinct. They have no ruler of their own, but are in dependence on the country of K'ei-p'an-to.

Two hundred li or so to the west of the city we come to a great mountain. This mountain is covered with brooding vapours, which hang like clouds above the rocks. The crags rise one above another, and seem as if about to fall where they are suspended. On the mountain top is erected a *stupa* of a wonderful and mysterious character. This is the old story:—Many centuries ago this mountain suddenly opened; in the

middle was seen a Bhiskhu, with closed eyes, sitting; his body was of gigantic stature and his form was dried up; his hair descended low on his shoulders and enshrouded his face. A hunter having caught sight of him, told the king. The king in person went to see him and to pay him homage. All the men of the town came spontaneously to burn incense and offer flowers as religious tribute to him. Then the king said, "What man is this of such great stature?" Then there was a Bhiskhu who said in reply, "This man with his hair descending over his shoulders and clad in a *kashaya* garment is an Arhat who has entered the *samadhi* which produces extinction of mind. Those who enter this kind of *samadhi* have to await a certain signal (or period); some say that if they hear the sound of the *ghanta* they awake; others, if they see the shining of the sun, then this is a signal for them to arouse themselves from their ecstasy; in the absence of such signal, they rest unmoved and quiet, whilst the power of their ecstasy keeps their bodies from destruction. When they come from their trance after their long fast, the body ought to be well rubbed with oil and the limbs made supple with soft applications; after this the *ghanta* may be sounded 'to restore the mind plunged in *samadhi*.'" The king said, "Let it be done," and then he sounded the gong.

Scarcely had the sound died away, but the Arhat, recognising the signal, looking down on them from on high for a long time, at length said, "What creatures are you with forms so small and mean, clothed with brown robes?" They answered, "We are Bhiskhus!" He said, "And where now dwells my master, Kasyapa Tathagata?" They replied, "He has entered the great *nirvana* for a long time past." Having heard this, he shut his eyes, as a man disappointed and ready to die. Then suddenly he asked again, "Has Sakya Tathagata come into the world?" "He has been born, and having guided the world spiritually, he has also entered *nirvana*." Hearing this, he bowed his head, and so remained for a long time. Then rising up into the air, he exhibited spiritual transformations, and at last he was consumed by fire and his bones fell to the ground. The king having collected them, raised over them this *stupa*.

Going north from this country, and traversing the rocky mountains and desert plains for 500 li or so, we come to the country of Kie-sha.⁵⁰

KIE-SHA [KASHGAR]

The country of Kie-sha is about 5000 li in circuit. It has much sandy and stony soil, and very little loam. It is regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are abundant.

⁵⁰ Anciently called Su-li: this also is the name of its chief city; "the full name is Shi-li-ki-li-to-ti (Srikritati). The sound Su-li is corrupt.—*Ch. Ed.*

Its manufactures are a fine kind of twilled haircloth, and carpets of a fine texture and skilfully woven. The climate is soft and agreeable; the winds and rain regularly succeed each other. The disposition of the men is fierce and impetuous, and they are mostly false and deceitful. They make light of decorum and politeness, and esteem learning but little. Their custom is when a child is born to compress his head with a board of wood.⁵¹ Their appearance is common and ignoble. They paint (mark) their bodies and around their eyelids.⁵² For their writing (*written characters*) they take their model from India, and although they (*i.e., the forms of the letters*) are somewhat mutilated, yet they are essentially the same in form.⁵³ Their language and pronunciation are different from that of other countries. They have a sincere faith in the religion of Buddha, and give themselves earnestly to the practice of it. There are several hundreds of *sangharamas*, with some 10,000 followers; they study the Little Vehicle and belong to the Sarvastivada school. Without understanding the principles, they recite many religious chants; therefore there are many who can say throughout the three *Pitakas* and the *Vibhasha* (*Pi-p'o-sha*).

Going from this south-east 500 li or so, passing the river Sita and crossing a great stony precipice, we come to the kingdom of Cho-kiu-kia.⁵⁴

CHO-KIU-KIA [CHAKUKA ? YARKIANG]

This kingdom⁵⁵ is some 1000 li or so round; the capital is about 10 li in circuit. It is hemmed in by crags and mountain fastnesses. The residences are numerous. Mountains and hills succeed each other in a continuous line. Stony districts⁵⁶ spread in every direction. This kingdom borders on two rivers;⁵⁷ the cultivation of grain and of fruit-trees is successful, principally figs, pears, and plums. Cold and winds prevail throughout the year. The men are passionate and cruel; they are false and

⁵¹ See vol. i. n. 60.

⁵² This is the only translation I can give Julien renders it, "They have green eyeballs"; but his text must differ from mine.

⁵³ This passage, too, is very obscure; Julien has omitted it. As an alternative translation of the whole passage, this may be offered: "They paint their bodies and their eyelids; for their models in these figures (painted letters) they take (those of) India; although they thus disfigure themselves, yet they retain great vigour of form (or body)."

⁵⁴ Anciently called Tsie-ku.

⁵⁵ V. de St. Martin identifies Cho-kiu-kia with Yarkiang, but he gives no authority. Dr. Eitel (*Handbook*, s. v. *Tchakuka*) states that "it is an ancient kingdom in Little Bukharia, probably the modern Yarkiang." The distance and bearing from Kashgar would point to Yarkand.

⁵⁶ Compare W. H. Bellew's account of this neighbourhood. *Kashmir and Kashgir*, p. 365.

⁵⁷ Probably the Yarkand and Khotan rivers.

treacherous, and in open day practise robbery. The letters are the same as those of K'iu-sa-ta-na (Khotan), but the spoken language is different. Their politeness is very scant, and their knowledge of literature and the arts equally so. They have an honest faith, however, in the three precious objects of worship, and love the practice of religion. There are several, tens of *sangharamas*, but mostly in a ruinous condition; there are some hundred followers, who study the Great Vehicle.

On the southern frontier of the country is a great mountain, with lofty defiles and peaks piled up one on the other, and covered with matted underwood and jungle. In winter and all through the year the mountain streams and torrents rush down on every side. There are niches and stone chambers in the outside; they occur in regular order between the rocks and woods. The Arhats from India, displaying their spiritual power, coming from far, abide here at rest. As many Arhats have here arrived at *nirvana*, so there are many *stupas* here erected. At present there are three Arhats dwelling in these mountain passes in deep recesses, who have entered the *samadhi* of "extinction of mind." Their bodies are withered away; their hair continues to grow, so that Shamans from time to time go to shave them. In this kingdom, the writings of the Great Vehicle are very abundant. There is no place where the law of Buddha is more flourishing than this. There is a collection here⁵⁸ of ten myriads of verses, divided into ten parts. From the time of its introduction till now it has wonderfully spread.

Going east from this, skirting along the high mountain passes and traversing valleys, after going about 800 li, we come to the kingdom of K'iu-sa-ta-na (Kustana—Khotan).

K'IU-SA-TA-NA [KHOTAN]

This country is about 4000 li in circuit; the greater part is nothing but sand and gravel (*a sandy waste*); the arable portion of the land is very contracted. What land there is, is suitable for regular cultivation, and produces abundance of fruits. The manufactures are carpets, haircloth of a fine quality, and fine-woven silken fabrics. Moreover, it produces white and green jade. The climate is soft and agreeable, but there are tornados which bring with them clouds of flying gravel (*dust*). They have a knowledge of politeness and justice. The men are naturally quiet and respectful. They love to study literature and the arts, in which they make considerable advance. The people live in easy circumstances, and are contented with their lot.

This country is renowned for its music;⁵⁹ the men love the

⁵⁸ Series of sacred books

⁵⁹ Compare the remark of Fa-hian (chap. iii). "They love religious music." For the products and general abundance of the district round Khotan consult *Marco Polo*, Yule's notes, vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

song and the dance. Few of them wear garments of skin (*felt*) and wool; most wear taffetas and white linen. Their external behaviour is full of urbanity; their customs are properly regulated. Their written characters and their mode of forming their sentences resemble the Indian model; the forms of the letters differ somewhat; the differences, however, are slight. The spoken language also differs from that of other countries. They greatly esteem the law of Buddha. There are about a hundred *sangharamas* with some 5000 followers, who all study the doctrine of the Great Vehicle.

The king is extremely courageous and warlike; he greatly venerates the law of Buddha. He says that he is of the race of Pi-shi-men (*Vasravana*) deva. In old times this country was waste and desert, and without inhabitants. The Deva Pi-shi-men came to fix his dwelling here. The eldest son of Asokaraja, when dwelling in Takshasila having had his eyes put out, the King Asoka was very angry, and sent deputies to order the chief of the tribes dwelling there to be transported to the north of the snowy mountains, and to establish themselves in the midst of a desert valley. Accordingly, the men so banished, having arrived at this western frontier (*of the kingdom*), put at their head a chief of their tribe and made him king. It was just at this time a son of the king of the eastern region (*China*) having been expelled from his country, was dwelling in this eastern region. The people who dwelt here urged him also to accept the position of king. Years and months having elapsed, and their laws not yet being settled,⁶⁰ because each party used to meet by chance in the hunting-ground, they came to mutual recriminations, and, having questioned each other as to their family and so on, they resolved to resort to armed force. There was then one present who used remonstrances and said, "Why do you urge each other thus to-day? It is no good fighting on the hunting-ground; better return and train your soldiers and then return and fight." Then each returned to his own kingdom and practised their cavalry and encouraged their warriors for the fray. At length, being arrayed one against the other, with drums and trumpets, at dawn of the day, the western army (*lord*) was defeated. They pursued him to the north and beheaded him. The eastern king, profiting by his victory, reunited the broken parts of his kingdom (*consolidated his power*), changed his capital to the middle land,⁶¹ and fortified it with walls; but, because he had no (*surveyed*) territory, he was filled with fear lest he should be unable to complete his scheme, and so he proclaimed far and near, "Who knows how to survey a

⁶⁰ *I.e.*, the mutual relations of the two. The passage respecting the "western frontier" refers to the frontier of the "western kingdom."

⁶¹ That is, according to Julien (note, p. 225), "the land between the eastern and western states."

dominion?" At this time there was a heretic covered with cinders who carried on his shoulder a great calabash full of water, and, advancing to the king, said, "I undersand a method" (*a territory*), and so he began to walk round with the water of his calabash running out, and thus completed an immense circle. After this he fled quickly and disappeared.

Following the traces of the water, the king laid the foundation of his capital city; and having retained its distinction, it is here the actual king reigns. The city, having no heights near it, cannot be easily taken by assault. From ancient times until now no one has been able to conquer it. The king having changed his capital to this spot, and built towns and settled the country, and acquired much religious merit, now had arrived at extreme old age and had no successor to the throne. Fearing lest his house should become extinct, he repaired to the temple of Vaisravana, and prayed him to grant his desire. Forthwith the head of the image (*idol*) opened at the top, and there came forth a young child. Taking it, he returned to his palace. The whole country addressed congratulations to him, but as the child would not drink milk, he feared he would not live. He then returned to the temple and again asked (*the god*) for means to nourish him. The earth in front of the divinity then suddenly opened and offered an appearance like a pap. The divine child drank from it eagerly. Having reached supreme power in due course, he shed glory on his ancestors by his wisdom and courage, and extended far and wide the influence of his laws. Forthwith he raised to the god (*Vaisravana*) a temple in honour of his ancestors. From that time till now the succession of kings has been in regular order, and the power has been lineally transmitted. And for this reason also the present temple of the Deva is richly adorned with rare gems and worship is punctually offered in it. From the first king having been nourished from milk coming from the earth the country was called by its name (*pop of the earth*—Kustana).

About 10 li south of the capital is a large *sangharama*, built by a former king of the country in honour of Vairochana⁶² (Pilu-che-na) Arhat.

In old days, when the law of Buddha had not yet extended to this country, that Arhat came from the country of Kasmir to this place. He sat down in the middle of wood and gave himself to meditation. At this time certain persons beheld him, and, astonished at his appearance and dress, they came and told the king. The king forthwith went to see him for himself. Beholding his appearance, he asked him, saying, "What man are you, dwelling alone in this dark forest?" The Arhat replied, "I am

⁶² In Chinese *Pin-chiu*, "he who shines in every place," or, "the everywhere glorious."

a disciple of Tathagata ; I am dwelling here to practise meditation. Your mejesty ought to establish religious merit by extolling the doctrine of Buddha, building a convent, and providing a body of priests." The king said, "What virtue has Tathagata, what spiritual power, that you should be hiding here as a bird practising his doctrine (*or* rules)?" He replied, "Tathagata is full of love and compassion for all that lives ; he has come to guide living things throughout the three worlds ; he reveals himself ; he comes and goes. Those who follow his law avoid the necessity of birth and death ; all those ignorant of his doctrine are still kept in the net of worldly desire." The king said, "Truly what you say is a matter of high importance." Then, after deliberation, he said with a loud voice, "Let the great saint appear for my sake and show himself ; having seen his appearance, then I will build a monastery, and believe in him, and advance his cause." The Arhat replied, "Let the king build the convent, then, on account of his accomplished merit, he may gain his desire."

The temple having been finished, there was a great assembly of priests from far and near ; but as yet there was no *ghanta* to call together the congregation ; on which the king said, "The convent is finished, but where is the appearance of Buddha ?" The Arhat said, "Let the king exercise true faith and the spiritual appearance will not be far off!" Suddenly in mid-air appeared a figure of Buddha descending from heaven, and gave to the king a *ghanta* (*kien-ti*), on which his faith was confirmed, and he spread abroad the doctrine of Buddha.

To the south-west of the royal city about 20 li or so is Mount Gosringa (K'iu-shi-ling-kia) ; there are two peaks to this mountain, and around these peaks there are on each side a connected line of hills. In one of the valleys there has been built a *sangharama* ; in this is placed a figure of Buddha, which from time to time emits rays of glory ; in this place Tathagata formerly delivered a concise digest of the law for the benefit of the Devas. He prophesied also that in this place there would be founded a kingdom, and that in it the principles of the bequeathed law would be extended and the Great Vehicle be largely practised.

In the caverns of Mount Gosringa is a great rock-dwelling where there is an Arhat plunged in the ecstasy called "destroying the mind ;" he awaits the coming of Maitreya Buddha. During several centuries constant homage has been paid to him. During the last few years the mountain tops have fallen and obstructed the way (*to the cavern*). The king of the country wished to remove the fallen rocks by means of his soldiers, but they were attacked by swarms of black bees, who poisoned the men, and so to this day the gate of the cavern is blocked up.

To the south-west of the chief city about 10 li there is a

monastery called Ti-kia-p'o-fo-na (Dirghabhavana?), in which is a standing figure of Buddha of Kiu-chi.⁶³ Originally this figure came from Kiu-chi (Kuche), and stayed here.

In old time there was a minister who was banished from this country to Kiu-chi; whilst there he paid worship only to this image, and afterwards, when he returned to his own country, his mind still was moved with reverence towards it. After midnight the figure suddenly came of itself to the place, on which the man left his home and built this convent.

Going west from the capital 300 li or so, we come to the town of Po-kia-i (Bhagai?); in this town is a sitting figure of Buddha about seven feet high, and marked with all the distinguishing signs of beauty. Its appearance is imposing and dignified. On its head is a precious gem-ornament, which ever spreads abroad a brilliant light. The general tradition is to this effect:—this statue formerly belonged to the country of Kasmir; by the influence of prayer (*being requested*), it removed itself here. In old days there was an Arhat who had a disciple, a Sramanera, on the point of death. He desired to have a cake of sown rice (*ts'hu mai*); the Arhat by his divine sight seeing there was rice of this sort in Kustana, transported himself thither by his miraculous power to procure some. The Sramanera having eaten it, prayed that he might be re-born in this country, and in consequence of his previous destiny he was born there as a king's son. When he had succeeded to the throne, he subdued all the neighbouring territory, and passing the snowy mountains, he attacked Kasmir. The king of Kasmir assembled his troops with a view to resist the invaders. On this the Arhat warned the king against the use of force, and said, "I am able to restrain him."

Then going to meet the king of Kustana (K'iu-sa-ta-na), began to recite choice selections of scripture (*the law*).

The king at first, having no faith, determined to go on with his military preparations. On this the Arhat, taking the robes which were worn by the king in his former condition as a Sramanera, showed them to him. Having seen them, the king reached to the knowledge of his previous lives, and he went to the king of Kasmir and made profession of his joy and attachment. He then dispersed his troops and returned. The image which he had honoured when a Sha-mi he now respectfully took in front of the army, and came to this kingdom at his request. But having arrived at this spot, he could not get further, and so built this *sangharama*; and calling the priests together, he gave his jewelled headdress for the image, and this is the one now belonging to the figure, the gift of the former king.

⁶³ This is restored by Julien to Kuche (text *in loco*); a Chinese note tells us it was in the "icy mountains," and is now called Tu-sha (? Tush kurghan).

To the west of the capital city 150 or 160 li, in the midst of the straight road across a great sandy desert, there are a succession of small hills, formed by the burrowing of rats. I heard the following as the common story :—"In this desert there are rats as big as hedgehogs, their hair of a gold and silver colour. There is a head rat to the company. Every day he comes out of his hole and walks about ; when he has finished the other rats follow him. In old days a general of the Hiung-nu came to ravage the border of this country with several tens of myriads of followers. When he had arrived thus far at the rat-mounds, he encamped his soldiers. Then the king of Kustana, who commanded only some few myriads of men, feared that his force was not sufficient to take the offensive. He knew of the wonderful character of these desert rats, and that he had not yet made any religious offering to them ; but now he was at a loss where to look for succour. His ministers, too, were all in alarm, and could think of no expedient. At last he determined to offer a religious offering to the rats and request their aid, if by these means his army might be strengthened a little. That night the king of Kustana in a dream⁶⁴ saw a great rat, who said to him, "I wish respectfully to assist you. To-morrow morning put your troops in movement ; attack the enemy, and you will conquer."

The king of Kustana, recognising the miraculous character of this intervention, forthwith arrayed his cavalry and ordered his captains to set out before dawn, and at their head, after a rapid march, he fell unexpectedly on the enemy. The Hiung-nu, hearing their approach, were overcome by fear. They hastened to harness their horses and equip their chariots, but they found that the leather of their armour, and their horses' gear, and their bow strings, and all the fastenings of their clothes, had been gnawed by the rats. And now their enemies had arrived, and they were taken in disorder. Thereupon their chief was killed and the principal soldiers made prisoners. The Hiung-nu were terrified on perceiving a divine interposition on behalf of their enemies. The king of Kustana, in gratitude to the rats, built a temple and offered sacrifices ; and ever since they have continued to receive homage and reverence, and they have offered to them rare and precious things. Hence, from the highest to the lowest of the people, they pay these rats constant reverence and seek to propitiate them by sacrifices. On passing the mounds they descend from their chariots and pay their respects as they pass on, praying for success as they worship. Others offer clothes, and bows, and arrows ; others scents, and flowers, and costly meats. Most of those who practise these religious rites obtain

⁶⁴ For these desert rats, which are probably the same as the "golden ants" of Herodotos and Nearkhos, see Mrs. Spiers' *Ancient India*, p. 216. For "the dream" and the destruction of the Assyrian army in Egypt by mice, see Herodotus, Bk. ii. chap. 141.

their wishes ; but if they neglect them, then misfortune is sure to occur.

To the west of the royal city 5 or 6 li⁶⁵ is a convent called Sa-mo-joh (*Samajna*). In the middle of it is a *stupa* about 100 feet high, which exhibits many miraculous indications (*signs*). Formerly there was an Arhat, who, coming from a distance, took up his abode in this forest, and by his spiritual power shed abroad a miraculous light. Then the king at night-time, being in a tower of his palace,⁶⁶ saw at a distance, in the middle of the wood, brilliant light shining. Asking a number of persons in succession what their opinion was, they all said, "There is a Sramana who has come from far, and is sitting alone in this wood. By the exercise of his supernatural power he spreads abroad this light." The king then ordered his chariot to be equipped, and went in person to the spot. Having seen the illustrious sage, his heart was filled with reverence, and after having offered him every respect, he invited him to come to the palace. The Sramana said, "Living things have their place, and the mind has its place. For me the sombre woods and the desert marshes have attraction. The storyed halls of a palace and its extensive courts are not suitable for my tastes."

The king hearing this felt redoubled reverence for him, and paid him increased respect. He constructed for him a *sangharama* and raised a *stupa*. The Sramana, having been invited to do so, took up his abode there.

The king having procured some hundred particles of relics, was filled with joy and thought with himself, "These relics have come late ; if they had come before, I could have placed them under this *stupa*, and then what a miracle of merit it would have been." Going then to the *sangharama*, he asked the Sramana. The Arhat said, "Let not the king be distressed. In order to place them in their proper place you ought to prepare a gold, silver, copper, iron, and stone receptacle, and place them one in the other, in order to contain the relics. The king then gave orders to workmen to do this, and it was finished in a day. Then carrying the relics on an ornamented car (*or*, stand), they brought them to the *sangharama*. At this time the king, at the head of a hundred officers, left the palace (*to witness the procession of the relics*.) whilst the beholders amounted to several myriads. Then the Arhat with his right hand raised the *stupa*, and holding it in his palms, he addressed the king and said, "You can now conceal the relics underneath." Accordingly he dug a place for the chest, and all being done, the Arhat lowered the *stupa* without hurt or inconvenience.

The beholders, exulting at the miracle, placed their faith

⁶⁵ Julien has "fifty or sixty li."

⁶⁶ *Or*, a double tower ; a belvedere.

in Buddha, and felt increased reverence for his law. Then the king, addressing his ministers, said, "I have heard it said that the power of Buddha is difficult to calculate, and his spiritual abilities difficult to measure. At one time he divided his body into ten million parts; at other times he appeared among Devas and men, holding the world in the palm of his hand without disturbing any one, explaining the law and its character in ordinary words, so that men and others, according to their kind, understood it, exhibiting the nature of the law in one uniform way, drawing all men (*things*) to a knowledge of it according to their minds. Thus his spiritual power was peculiarly his own; his wisdom was beyond the power of words to describe. His spirit has passed away, but his teaching remains. Those who are nourished by the sweetness of his doctrine and partake of (*drink*) his instruction; who follow his directions and aims at his spiritual enlightenment, how great their happiness, how deep their insight. You hundred officers ought to honour and respect Buddha; the mysteries of his law will then become clear to you."

To the south-east of the royal city 5 or 6 li is a convent called Lu-shi,⁶⁷ which was founded by a queen of a former ruler of the country. In old time this country knew nothing about mulberry trees or silkworms. Hearing that the eastern country had them, they sent an embassy to seek for them. At this time the prince of the eastern kingdom kept the secret and would not give the possession of it to any. He kept guard over his territory and would not permit either the seeds of the mulberry or the silkworms' eggs to be carried off.

The king of Kustana sent off to seek a marriage union with a princess of the eastern kingdom (China), in token of his allegiance and submission. The king being well-affected to the neighbouring states acceded to his wish. Then the king of Kustana dispatched a messenger to escort the royal princess and gave the following direction: "Speak thus to the eastern princess,—Our country has neither silk or silken stuffs. You had better bring with you some mulberry seeds and silkworms, then you can make robes for yourself."

The princess, hearing these words, secretly procured the seed of the mulberry and silkworms' eggs and concealed them in her head-dress. Having arrived at the barrier, the guard searched everywhere, but he did not dare to remove the princess's head-dress. Arriving then in the kingdom of Kustana, they stopped on the site afterwards occupied by the Lu-shi *sangharama*: thence they conducted her in great pomp to the royal palace. Here then they left the silkworms and mulberry seeds.

⁶⁷ *Lu-shi* means "stag-pierced"; but it is probably a phonetic form in this passage, and is the name of the daughter of the prince of the eastern kingdom.

In the spring-time they set the seeds, and when the time for the silkworms had come they gathered leaves for their food ; but from their first arrival it was necessary to feed them on different kinds of leaves, but afterwards the mulberry trees began to flourish. Then the queen wrote on a stone the following decree, "It is not permitted to kill the silkworm ! After the butterfly has gone, then the silk may be twined off (*the cocoon*). Whoever offends against this rule may be deprived of divine protection." Then she founded this *sangharama* on the spot where the first silkworms were bred ; and there are about here many old mulberry tree trunks which they say are the remains of the old trees first planted. From old time till now this kingdom has possessed silkworms, which nobody is allowed to kill, with a view to take away the silk stealthily. Those who do so are not allowed to rear the worms for a succession of years.

To the south-east of the capital about 200 li or so is a great river⁶⁸ flowing north-west. The people take advantage of it to irrigate their lands. After a time this stream ceased to flow. The king, greatly astonished at the strange event, ordered his carriage to be equipped and went to an Arhat and asked him, "The waters of the great river, which have been so beneficial to man, have suddenly ceased. Is not my rule a just one ? are not my benefits (*virtues*) widely distributed through the world ? If it be not so, what is my fault, or why is this calamity permitted ?"

The Arhat said, "Your majesty governs his kingdom well, and the influence of your rule is for the well-being and peace of your people. The arrest in the flow of the river is on account of the dragon dwelling therein. You should offer sacrifices and address your former benefits (*from the river*)."

Then the king returned and offered sacrifice to the river dragon. Suddenly a woman emerged from the stream, and advancing said to him, "My lord is just dead, and there is no one to issue orders ; and this is the reason why the current of the stream is arrested and the husbandmen have lost their usual profits. If your majesty will choose from your kingdom a minister of state of noble family and give him to me as a husband, then he may order the stream to flow as before."

The king said, "I will attend with respect to your request and meet your wishes." The Naga (*woman*) was rejoiced (*to have obtained the promise of*) a great minister of the country (*as a husband*).

The king having returned, addressed his dependents thus, "A great minister is the stronghold of the state. The pursuit of

⁶⁸ Probably the Karakash river. Its sandy and dry bed is still marked with a dotted line on Shaw's map (High Tartary and Yarkand). Or it may be the Khotan-daria.

agriculture is the secret of men's life. Without a strong support, then, there is ruin to the state ; without food there is death to the people. In the presence of such calamities what is to be done?"

A great minister leaving his seat, prostrated himself and said: "For a long time I have led a useless life, and held an important post without profit to others. Although I have desired to benefit my country, no occasion has offered. Now, then, I pray you choose me, and I will do my best to meet your wishes. In view of the good of the entire people what is the life of one minister ? A minister is the support of the country ; the people the substance. I beg your majesty not to hesitate. I only ask that, for the purpose of securing merit, I may found a convent."

The king having consented, the thing was done forthwith, and his request complied with. On this the minister asked to be allowed to enter at once the dragon-place. Then all the chief men of the kingdom made a feast, with music and rejoicing, whilst the minister, clad in white garments and riding a white horse, took leave of the king and respectfully parted with the people of the country. So, pressing on his horse, he entered the river ; advancing in the stream, he sank not, till at length, when in the middle of it, he whipped the stream with his lash, and forthwith the water opened in the midst and he disappeared. A short time afterwards the white horse came up and floated on the water, carrying on his back a great sandalwood drum, in which was a letter, the contents of which were briefly these : "Your majesty has not made the least error in selecting me for this office in connection with the spirit (*Naga*). May you enjoy much happiness and your kingdom be prosperous ! Your minister sends you this drum to suspend at the south-east of the city ; if an enemy approaches, it will sound first of all."

The river began then to flow, and down to the present time has caused continued advantage to the people. Many years and months have elapsed since then, and the place where the dragon-drum was hung has long since disappeared, but the ruined convent by the side of the drum-lake still remains, but is has no priests and is deserted.

Three hundred li or so to the east of the royal city is a great desert marsh, upwards of several thousand acres in extent, without any verdure whatever. Its surfate is a reddish-black. The old people explain the matter thus. This is the place where an army was defeated. In old days an army of the eastern country numbering a hundred myriads of men invaded the western kingdom. The king of Kustana, on his side, equipped a body of cavalry to the number of ten myriads, and advanced to the east to offer the enemy battle. Coming to this spot, an engagement took place. The troops of the west being defeated, they were cut to pieces and their king was taken prisoner and all their officers killed without leaving one to escape. The ground

was dyed with blood, and the traces of it still remain (*in the colour of the earth*).

After going east 30 li or so from the field of battle we come to the town of Pima (Pi-mo). Here there is a figure of Buddha in a standing position made of sandalwood. The figure is about twenty feet high. It works many miracles and reflects constantly a bright light. Those who have any disease, according to the part affected, cover the corresponding place on the statue with gold-leaf, and forthwith they are healed. People who address prayers to it with a sincere heart mostly obtain their wishes. This is what the natives say: This image in old days when Buddha was alive was made by Udayana (U-to-yen-na), king of Kausambi (Kiao-shang-mi). When Buddha left the world, it mounted of its own accord into the air and came to the north of this kingdom, to the town of Ho-lo-lo-kia.⁶⁹ The men of this city were rich and prosperous, and deeply attached to heretical teaching, with no respect for any other form of religion. From the time the image came there it showed its divine character, but no one paid it respect.

Afterwards there was an Arhat who bowed down and saluted the image; the people of the country were alarmed at this strange appearance and dress, and they hastened to tell the king. The king issued a decree that the stranger should be covered over with sand and earth. At this time the Arhat's body being covered with sand, he sought in vain for food as nourishment.⁷⁰ There was a man whose heart was indignant at such treatment; he had himself always respected the image and honoured it with worship, and now seeing the Arhat in this condition, he secretly gave him food. The Arhat being on the point of departure, addressed this man and said, "Seven days hence there will be a rain of sand and earth which will fill this city full, and there will in a brief space be none left alive. You ought to take measures for escape in knowledge of this. They have covered me with earth, and this is the consequence to them." Having said this he departed, disappearing in a moment.

The man, entering the city, told the tidings to his relatives, but they did nothing but mock at him. The second day a great wind suddenly arose, which carried before it all the dirty soil, whilst there fell various precious substances.⁷¹ Then the men continued to revile the man who had told them (*about the sand and earth*).

But this man, knowing in his heart what must certainly happen, excavated for himself an underground passage leading

⁶⁹ Ragha or Raghan, or perhaps Ourgha.

⁷⁰ It would seem that his body was buried up to his neck.

⁷¹ Stas. Julien prefers substituting *Sha-tu* in the text for *Tsah-pao*. In that case it would be "sand and earth"; but, if this be so, why did the people still find fault with the prophet?

outside the city, and there lay concealed. On the seventh day, in the evening, just after the division of the night, it rained sand and earth, and filled the city.⁷² This man escaped through his tunnel and went to the east, and, arriving in this country, he took his abode in Pima. Scarcely had the man arrived when the statue also appeared there. He forthwith paid it worship in this place and dared not go farther (*change his abode*). According to the old account it is said, "When the law of Sakya is extinct then this image will enter the dragon-palace."

The town of Ho-lo-lo-kia is now a great sand mound. The kings of the neighbouring countries and persons in power from distant spots have many times wished to excavate the mound and take away the precious things buried there; but as soon as they have arrived at the borders of the place, a furious wind has sprung up, dark clouds have gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, and they have become lost to find their way.

To the east of the valley of Pima⁷³ we enter a sandy desert, and after going 200 li or so, we come to the town of Ni-jiang. This city is about 3 or 4 li in circuit; it stands in a great marsh; the soil of the marsh is warm and soft, so that it is difficult to walk on it. It is covered with rushes and tangled herbage, and there are no roads or pathways; there is only the path that leads to the city, through which one can pass with difficulty, so that every one coming and going must pass by this town. The king of Kustana makes this the guard of his eastern frontier.

Going east from this, we enter a great drifting sand desert. These sands extend like a drifting flood for a great distance, piled up or scattered according to the wind. There is no trace left behind by travellers, and oftentimes the way is lost, and so they wander hither and thither quite bewildered, without any guide or direction. So travellers pile up the bones of animals as beacons. There is neither water nor herbage to be found, and hot winds frequently blow. When these winds rise, then both men and beasts become confused and forgetful, and then they remain perfectly disabled (*sick*). At times sad and plaintive notes are heard and piteous cries, so that between the sights and sounds of this desert men get confused and know not whither they go. Hence there are so many who perish in the journey. But it is all the work of demons and evil spirits.

Going on 40 li or so, we arrive at the old kingdom of Tu-ho-lo (Tukhara).⁷⁴ This country has long been deserted and wild. All the towns are ruined and uninhabited.

⁷² For an account of sand-buried cities, and particularly of Katak, see Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, pp. 370, 371. Also for Pima, probably near Keria, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii., Appendix M; and also vol. i. chap. xxxvii. and note I. It is probably the *Hun-mo* of Sung Yün.

⁷³ Pima was probably the Pein of Marco Polo. See Yule, *ut supra*.

⁷⁴ This was probably the extreme limit of the old kingdom of

From this going east 600 li or so, we come to the ancient kingdom of Che-mo-t'o-na,⁷⁵ which is the same as the country called Ni-mo. The city walls still stand lofty, but the inhabitants are dispersed and scattered.

From this going north-east a thousand li or so, we come to the old country of Navapa (Na-fo-po), which is the same as Leu-lan.⁷⁶ We need not speak of the mountains and valleys and soil of this neighbouring country. The habits of the people are wild and unpolished, their manners not uniform, their preferences and dislikes are not always the same. There are some things difficult to verify to the utmost, and it is not always easy to recollect all that has occurred.

But this traveller has written a brief summary of all he witnessed or heard. All were desirous to be instructed, and wherever he went his virtuous conduct drew the admiration of those who beheld it. And why not? in the case of one who had gone alone and afoot from Ku, and had completed such a mission by stages of myriads of li!⁷⁷

Tu-ho-lo towards the east. When the Yue-chi spread eastwards they dispossessed the old Turanian population.

⁷⁵ This is the Tso-moh of Sung-yun. It must have been near Sorghak of Prejevalsky's map. For some interesting notes on this place see Kingsmill, *China Review*, vol. viii. No. 3, p. 163.

⁷⁶ Also called Shen-shen; see *China Review*, loc. cit. Kingsmill makes Navapa equal to Navapura, i.e., Neapolis.

⁷⁷ M. Julien renders this passage: "How could he be compared simply to such men as have gone on a mission with a single car, and who have traversed by post a space of a thousand li?" But if the symbol *Ku* be for *Ku-sse*, i.e., "the ancient land of the Ugurs" (see vol. i. n. 51), then I think the translation I have given is the right one. Respecting this land of Kau-chang, we are told it was called Ming-fo-chau in the Han period, and Ku-sse-ti (the land of Ku-sse) during the Tang period (*vid.* the map called *Yu-ti-tsur-t'si*).

END OF BOOK XII

FINIS

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- NOTE 1. p. 1.—There is an important work called the *Shih-kia-fang-chi*, or “An Account of Buddhist Regions,” written by Tao-Sun, who lived A.D. 595-667, in which the three routes from China to India are named (part i. fol. 10 b.). The first is to the south-west of Lake Lop to Tibet and Nepal; the second or middle route is from Shen-shen or Lea-lan or Na-fo-po (Tao-Sun speaks of these as one place) to Khotan and so on; the third route is the outward one followed by Hsien Tsiang. Tao-Sun, in speaking of the Po-lo-mo-lo Mountain (vide Book X p. 418), renders it “the *black bee* Mountain.” Perhaps the Temple of Boram Deo, “in a secluded valley at the foot of the Mekhala Hills, near Kamarda,” is connected with the worship of Durga under this name (Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.*, vol. xvii. p. iv).
- Page 19.—The custom of putting a sacred object on the head in token of reverence, is still observed in the Greek Church; *conf.* the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (Neale's *Greek Liturgies*, p. 127) where the sacred vessel is carried on the head of the deacon.
- Page 19.—The idea of a *square* vihara being indestructible would confirm the opinion given (p. 122. n. 215) that Svetavaras is the Tetragonis of Pliny; the treasure city of Rameses is also described as “solid upon the earth, like the four pillars of the firmament” (*Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*, p. 18).
- Page 23.--The “yellow spring” may be compared with the Pali *odakantiko*.
- Page 24.—The “marks and impressions” are probably the *wheel marks* &c., on the bottom of a Buddha's foot; *cf.* p. 231 *infra*.
- Page 24.—The phrase *shang-tso* refers to the chief of the Sthaviras or priests.
- Page 25.—The symbol *ku* which I here translate by “ruins,” is so used throughout Fa-hian; Hsien Tsiang uses the full phrase *ku ke*; *cf.* K. II. fol. 12, of the *Si-yu-ki*, also *infra*, p. 145-46.
- Page 31.—The charioteer called Chhandaka is elsewhere called Kāntaka (*Chung-hu-mo-ho-ti-king*, *passim*).
- Page 38, line 4.—I have taken the phrase “*peh tung hia*” (north, east, below) to be an error for *tung peh hing* (going north-east).
- Page 40.—The Lokantarika hells are described as being outside the iron girdle that surrounds a Sakwala.
- Page 44.—With the “one-footed men,” compare the Sansc. *ekacharanas*.
- Page 52.—The phrase for “rested” is not to be confined to the “summer rest” of the Buddhists; it frequently means “remained at rest,” or “in quiet”; *cf.* “the daily used of the Shamans,” pp. 85-86.
- Page 93. n. 77.—Red garments are the badge of those condemned to death: vide the *Nagananda*, Boyd's translation, p. 62, 63, 67.
- Page 124, para 2, first line.—For *coonerff* read *sooner*.
- Page 156. n. 77.—Vasubandhu is sometimes called the twentieth patriarch, *cf.* Book III, n. 2.
- Page 209, n. 30.—The expression, the “Mung” king, is frequently used by I-tsing. Perhaps he is the same as the *Bala-rati* or the Great King or Lord Paramount of the Muslims (vide Thomas, *The Indian Balhara*, p. 11).

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